MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE, MINISTRY, TRYAL *and*
SUFFERINGS
Of that Very Eminent Perſon
James Nailer,
THE
Quaker's Great APOSTLE.

Who was Try'd by the High Court of Parliament for *BLASPHEMY*, in the Year 1656. With a faithful Relation of his unparallell'd Sentence, and the Execution thereof upon his Body, in the Cities of *London*, *Weſtminſter* and *Briſtol*, *viz.*

1. Standing Twice in the Pillory,
2. Whipt, and receiv'd 310 Laſhes,
3. Bor'd thro' the Tongue with a red hot Iron.
4. Burn'd to the Scull with the Letter *B.*
5. Made to ride backward, bare-ridged, thro' *Briſtol.*
6. Six Times whipt there,
7. And then committed to *Bridewel*, to hard Labour.

Publiſh'd by an Impartial Hand, *to prevent the Abuſes in Dr.* Kennet's *Hiſtory when Publiſh'd, and the Groſs Imperfection and Miſrepreſentations of* James Nailer *in the late Folio Collection of Trials.*

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1. Standing Twice in the Pillory,
2. Whipt, and received six hundred Lashes,
3. Bor'd thro' the Tongue with a red hot Iron,
4. Burn'd in the Hand,
5. Made to ride backward on a Lame Jade, with his Face to the Tail,
6. Six Long Hours there,
7. And then committed to Prison, to Labour, &c. hard

THE PREFACE.

CANDID READER,

THOU haſt herein a Remarkable Hiſtory of a Perſon once very eminent tho' vulgarly ſtigmatized with the glaring Brand of an *Horrid Blaſphemer*. Whether or no, he, in the leaſt, deſerves ſuch a Character, the following Sheets will determine.

Its a moſt lamentable Caſe that any profeſſing the Character of CHRISTIAN, ſhould ſo ſcandalize the Name of the Lord *Jeſus*, by acting like the *Jews* of old, in joining with the blind Multitude to oppoſe, defame and perſecute *Innocence*, *Righteouſneſs* and *Truth*.

But ſo it is, and has been, the Truth of which is too notorious to be deny'd, if we take a View of a late Threefold Attempt of that old *Accuſer of the Brethren*, thro' his Agents of different Sorts, to ſlander to Poſterity, a Holy Ambaſſador of the *King of Kings*.

The

The *First* of these (as I take him to be) vilely and slanderously calls innocent, humble holy meek *James Nailer* by the Name and Character of *King-killer*, a Name so wretchedly monstrous and unjust, that it admits of a Doubt among wise Men, whether the Charge has in it, more of most stupid and sottish Ignorance, or Hellish Malice. However, as this Slanderer has not affix'd his Name to his scandalous Libel, I don't think it worth stooping to take further Notice of him.

The *Second* Piece of Injustice done to the Memory of this Holy Confessor, is said to have been by an *Anabaptist*, (or rather *Water-Baptist*) who in the late Folio Collection of Trials has done great Wrong to the Memory of *James Nailer*, in that he has only inserted the bare Report of the *Committee*, who were *James Nailer*'s Enemies, (both as to his Person, and Ministry) and not included the several Answers to the gross Falsities in the said Report. Whether this was done with Malice, and Design to blacken the Cause of *Truth*, I won't positively determine. But this I am sure of, He that wilfully relates one Part of a Story, and that the blackest Part too, and hides What would make much for the Person treated of, deserves the just Brand of a *Slanderer*. And we know the just Reproach of the wise Man, to such a one, *He that utters a Slander is a Fool.*

The

The *Third modern Accuſer* of *James Nailer*, is no leſs a Man than an *Engliſh Biſhop*, (ſo called) but ſuch a One, God knows, whoſe very Praiſes, (with all real Chriſtians who have known him,) have been accounted moſt fulſom, as well as ridiculous, witneſs his *Paraſitical* Harangue at the Funeral of the late *D.* of *Devonſhire*, wherein he groſly impoſes upon and abuſes his Auditory, by broaching the following ſoothing pernicious Doctrine, *That a late Repentance rarely happens but in men of diſtinguiſh'd Senſe and Judgment*; --- *That ordinary Abilities may be altogether ſunk by a long vicious Courſe of Life*;-- *That* meaner ſinful Wretches *are commonly given up to a Reprobate mind, and die as ſtupidly as they liv'd, while the* brighter and Nobler Parts *have an Advantage of underſtanding the Worth of their Souls before they reſign it: If they are allow'd the Benefit of Sickneſs, they commonly awake out of their Dream of Sin, and reflect and look upwards. Not that God is a Reſpecter of Perſons, but the Difference is in the men, and the more intelligent* Nature *is, the more ſuſceptive of Divine Grace.* The groſs Fallacy of which was expos'd and detected, even by a Layman in a ſharp Eſſay, Entitled, *The Hazard of a* Death-Bed Repentance, *&c.*

Such a Man as this, I ſay, takes upon him in his *Hiſtory of England*, now about to be Publiſh'd, (as I have been credibly inform'd) to repreſent *James Nailer* as a *Blaſphemer* to future Generations. How he will anſwer this Slander to his own Conſcience if ever he ſhould peruſe theſe Lines, or to the righteous God, if

ever

ever awaken'd on a Dying-Bed, I know not: But I am bold to ſay, however he may cajole his own Soul, by his new-fangled Divinity, drawn from his *Diſtinguiſh'd Senſe and Judgment*, except he deſiſts to publiſh his Calumniating *Hiſtory*, or heartily repents of his doing it before he comes upon a Death-Bed, I aſſure him, as a Friend, his Salvation will not only prove hazardous, but his Damnation moſt certain.

However, not to enlarge further upon that Head at preſent, but leaving the Enemies of *James Nailer* under the Guilt of their own Slanders, I am bold to affirm and make Good, notwithſtanding What his Enemies ſay againſt him,) that *James Nailer* was no *Blaſphemer*, and furthermore, ſhall evince, that, how far he was concern'd in that Affair, ſo far he acted nothing diſſonant from a worthy and faithful Meſſenger of the Moſt High. To prove which, I ſhall offer the following Reaſons.

Firſt, In the Account publiſh'd by his Judges themſelves, there is not ſo much as the leaſt Tittle of Blaſphemy prov'd upon Him, nay not ſo much as the leaſt Appearance or Show of it. On the contrary, they ſeverally give the Lie to the Teeth to all thoſe who wickedly defame this holy Saint by the Name of Blaſphemer; for in the ſeveral Accounts I have read concerning Him, publiſh'd by his moſt bitter Enemies, there is not ſo much as One Individual Word of *Blaſ-*

phemy

phemy ſaid (much leſs prov'd) to be utter'd by Him. If any anſwer, It was for aſſuming the *Name*, *Attributes*, *Miracles*, &c. of Chriſt Jeſus; I anſwer, In the Name and Authority of Chriſt Jeſus, who made them Judges of the Heart? And how do they betray their own Madneſs in judging the Heart of this meek Lamblike Apoſtle, whoſe worſt Enemies are not able to make Good the leaſt of their Allegations againſt him? Again how can a Perſon be guilty of *Blaſphemy* that does not ſpeak one Word, but only gives a gentle Caution to others to take good heed to their Ways. *Good God!* to what a Pitch of Blindneſs are Mankind arriv'd to! to call the very Duty of a Servant of Jeſus, by the Name of *Blaſphemy*.

Secondly, The impartial Reader may likewiſe obſerve how *James Nailer* abhors and often diſclaims (no leſs than 40 times,) any Worſhip, Honour and Adoration to be given to him, as we are told by his Judges themſelves, who, in the Concluſion of their Report, relate as follows;

'To ſum up all, the Committee asked 'Nailer, what he had more to ſay, he thus 'anſwered,

'*I do abhor any of that Honour which is due to* 'God, *ſhould be given to me as a Creature; but* 'it *pleaſed the Lord to ſet me up as a Sign of the* 'Coming *of the righteous one; and what hath* 'been *done in my paſſing thro' the Towns, I was*

'com-

'*commanded by the Power of the Lord to ſuffer*
'*ſuch Things to be done to the outward as a*
'*Sign, I abhor any Honour as a Creature.*

I now appeal to the Conſcience of the impartial ſerious Reader, whether any thing can be more clearly illuſtrated than this, that *James* diſowns any Honour to be given to Him. But herein lies the Grand Miſtake of his Enemies (as nothing is more common than for blind Zealots to condemn what they don't underſtand) the Honour Adoration and Praiſe was never receiv'd as to *James Nailer's* Perſon, but to *Chriſt Jeſus*, as manifeſted or diſplay'd IN *James Nailer*.

It is not, or cannot be *Blaſphemy* to worſhip God, who is own'd to be Omnipreſent, whereſoever manifeſt: For Proof of which we have ſeveral remarkable Scripture Inſtances, as in the Caſe of *Abraham*, *Lot*, and *Daniel* who all bowed to the Lord, as manifeſt *IN* or *THRO'* the Creature, and were far from being reproved. Yet when the beloved Diſciple *John* fell down to worſhip the Angel, *Rev.* 22. 9. 10. he was reprov'd for ſo doing. And why he was ſo reprov'd, the Angel gives the following Reaſon, *See thou do it not, for I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren the Prophets:* As much as if he had ſaid, 'I am but a Meſſenger, a meer Creature, thy 'Honour and Worſhip belongeth not to me, 'but to God, whoſe Servant I am, as thou 'art; therefore deſiſt, *&c.*

If

If these Things had been understood and consider'd by the Judges and Persecutors of *James Nailer*, certainly so innocent a Servant of Christ, should not have undergone such cruel Sufferings. It therefore remains, I give a short and faithful State of the Case by Way of History, to let the impartial Reader into a clear Sight of Truth, as necessary to a right understanding the whole Story.

In the Days of the Protectorship of *Oliver Cromwel* (so called) there arose a certain People professing the Christian Religion in its Purity, who, by Reason of the great trembling of their Bodies, while preaching in their Assemblies, were called, by Way of Reproach, by the Name of *Quakers*. These People in their Ministry, (amongst many other corrupt Principles and Practices,) loudly disclaim'd all Tythes, and Money Preaching. This Doctrine hardly pinching the *Priests* of all Sorts in a tender Place, *viz.* their Belly, they were generally so enrag'd, that what they could not baffle with sound Argument, or holy Scripture, they endeavour'd by Misrepresentations, Calumnies and Lies to effect; and those Weapons being too weak to withstand the Power of Truth, which exceedingly encreas'd to the convincing many Hundreds, if not Thousands of the honestest religious Professors of the various Sorts; the *Priests* were so enrag'd at the losing their Craft, that they stirred up their Disciples to open Force and Violence, and having the Civil Power (so called)

on their Side, many Methods were uſed to ſuppreſs and extirpate that People. And he that appear'd the moſt eminent in bearing a Teſtimony for God againſt thoſe Deceivers, who *Divin'd for Gain*, was generally moſt ſure of feeling the utmoſt Effects of their Wrath and Envy, by Mobbings, Beatings, Stonings, Fines and Impriſonments. Amongſt the many that bore a Teſtimony for the Kingly Power of the Lord Jeſus in the Hearts of Mankind, againſt the damnable Hereſies of the Hirelings, was this *James Nailer*, a Man who was before of good Repute, and had been ſeeking the Way of Salvation from a Child, and became a Church-Member with the *Independents*, till being call'd by the Miniſtration of God's Spirit thro' the People called *Quakers*, was convinc'd, and receiving the ſame Spirit, he became an able and powerful Miniſter of Chriſt, bearing a valiant Teſtimony for the Truth, having left his Wife, Children and a conſiderable Eſtate, to preach the good News of Goſpel-Tidings, without Purſe or Scrip, up and down ſeveral Parts of this Nation. This very quickly rais'd him many powerful Enemies, and the *Prieſts* having had ſeveral Meetings with him, and being often put to Silence, and confounded by him, they ſingled him to reak their Malice upon, and finding the more underſtanding of the People did not regard their Slanders of calling him and his *Friends*, *Witches*, *Conjurers*, &c. they took the Opportunity of an Accident for their Purpoſe, and made the moſt on't; an Accident tho' in it ſelf perfectly innocent, yet what by Miſrepreſentation, Ill-mindedneſs and Ignorance, it was work'd up to appear like a Crime, and call'd by the Name of *Blaſphemy*, which take faithfully related, as follows,

James being upon a Journey, as uſual, ſometimes walking, ſometimes riding, was travelling near *Briſtol*, and happen'd to be join'd by ſeveral onwards

wards his Journey, particularly by two Women and a young Man, when entring that City, the Women ſang Praiſes to the Lord, crying *Holy, Holy*; another, (as was ſaid) took hold of the Bridle of the Horſe, and went on their way. And where was the Harm of all this? Thus went they on, *James* being paſſive, neither encouraging them, nor believing any Honour or Adoration was given to Him, but being full of innocent Simplicity rode on, not imagining what Advantage wicked Men were willing to catch at. As they paſs'd on, one of the Company ſpread her Garments before him, upon which *James* ſaid (as the Report of the Committee tells us,) *He bid them take Heed they did nothing but what they were moved of the Lord.* This Holy Man was ſo humble, that he durſt not judge what others did, tho' he might be enclin'd at one Time to think, they might run out into ſomewhat of Elevation in their natural Spirits. However he durſt not condemn 'em, but gently adviſes 'em to take heed. And now, if there was any, the leaſt blameworthy, it were the Company with him. But who ſhall be Judge herein? They declared they *ſang Praiſes to the Lord* or Manifeſtation of God IN *James Nailer*, and not to *James Nailer*. And who dare aſſert the contrary? And if ſo, it was ſo far from being a Crime, that no Doubt, it became a Duty, to proclaim the Manifeſtation of Chriſt *Within* to thoſe without.

This Procedure quickly alarm'd the Enemies of Truth, who judg'd not according to Truth, but to ſuperficial Appearances. And now all the trivial Circumſtances are ſearch'd into with Eagerneſs to form an Accuſation; *James* and his Company are hurried before the Magiſtrates, impriſon'd, and ſent up to *London*, to be try'd by the Parliament. His Enemies could not be content to proceed in the ordinary way of Judgment, but their Malice knew

no Bounds, and any, yea every Thing, tho' never so innocent, is rak'd up to blacken this holy Man; even the private Letters sent him, tho' never disclos'd by him, were made Matter of Accusation; Yea, to such a Pitch of Hellish Madness were they arriv'd, that the very *Natural Colour* and *Shape* of the Hair of his Head and Beard, were trump'd up, if (possible) to prove him guilty of *Blasphemy*. All this while *James* had neither said or done any thing, to be thus treated.

However, the Enemy having gotten this Advantage, *James* was prosecuted with Fury: The zealous Interest of those blind Agents of Hell, the *Money-Priests*, was not wanting on this Occasion. Petitions after Petitions were presented against *James Nailer* and all the *Quakers*, and those very Men who not long before had traiterously murder'd their King, now wanted to outdo the Devil, by murdering their God, and suppress the Light of Christ that it should not discover their Deeds of Darkness. Notwithstanding this vigorous Persecution, there were at times, several brave and worthy Champions for God, who maintain'd, and were not afraid to appear in Behalf of arraign'd Innocence, both in the House, and out of the House, many of whom tho' they were not *Quakers*, yet in publick protested against so great Injustice. Amongst whom were several of the better Sort of the Preachers of different Perswasions, accompanied and back'd by some Hundreds of Persons of Eminence and Religion, in and about this City, who us'd their utmost Interest in *James Nailer*'s Behalf. But so great was the Torrent of Anger against him, by means of the Interest of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* (who like the *Jews* of old, cry'd out *The Temple of the Lord*, to destroy the Lord of that Temple) that *James Nailer* was not only adjudg'd to be guilty, but sentenc'd after such a Manner, that the *English*

gliſh Nation never has produc'd the like, (all Things conſider'd) and what muſt be an eternal Blot and Stain upon *Preſbyterian* and *Independent* Cruelty and Injuſtice, till Time ſhall be no more.

Amongſt thoſe who appear'd for *James Nailer*, were *Jeremiah White*, (*Oliver*'s Chaplain,) *Joſhua Sprigge*, both worthy Men, and eminent Preachers, with Colonel *Scroope*, *&c.* who all thought it their Duty to appear on this eminent Occaſion.

And now *James* while under his Sufferings behav'd himſelf worthy the Cauſe of that God, for whom he ſuffer'd. Never did Man behave with more Meekneſs, Patience, and Long-ſuffering, (except Chriſt Jeſus) than *James Nailer* did. He was never heard to murmur and repine, but with a chearful Countenance begg'd Forgiveneſs of God for his bitter Enemies.

Thrice bleſſed Saint, whom Sufferings ne'er could make,
Deny the Truth, or God's great Cauſe forſake.
O, may a double Portion of thy Spirit,
My Tongue, my Heart, my Soul, always inherit;
May I know Jeſus Chriſt reveal'd within,
A true Redeemer *from the Power of Sin,*
This was the Doctrine thou waſt ſent to Preach,
To thoſe unknown, who do for Money *teach.*
Blindly did they, thy Innocence blaſpheme,
Whoſe beſt Pretenſions were no more than Dream,
Hoſannahs, *they in Words would loudly cry,*
To Jeſus, *then would* Jeſus *crucify.*
Their Whippings, Mockings, Burnings plainly ſhew,
Theirs is the falſe Religion, *Thine the* True.
But reſt, Great Saint, *till* Chriſt *with* Thee *appear,*
To Judge *thoſe Men who have condemn'd thee here.*

But to return to my Account; The following Sheets contain *Memoirs* of this Holy Man, whoſe great Worth, Excellency, and Uſefulneſs in con-

converting Souls to Christ, and shewing them a *Jesus* nigher than without the Gates of *Jerusalem*, made Him the Mark of their Fury. Herein is contain'd a Conference he had with a Priest, a breif Account of his Life, Call to the Ministry, his Examination, as far as his Enemies would suffer to be publish'd, with some few Remarks thereon, his manifold Sufferings, as twice standing in the Pillory, being whipt, and underwent 310 Lashes, bor'd thro' the Tongue with a red hot Iron, burn'd to the Scull with the Letter *B.* and committed to hard Labour, and all this for barely riding about his Business, neither offending any Law of God or Man.

Some perhaps may imagine his Answers to the Committee did seem to make against him. To such I answer, there is nothing therein but what every Child and Messenger of God might lawfully say, in like Circumstances. The Apostle *Paul, &c.* in many Places proves this, when he says, *Christ IN me the Hope of Glory, If Christ be not IN you, ye are Reprobates.* But this is Doctrine that Money-Priests are ignorant of.

But Reader, not to detain thee any longer, I shall inform thee I am no ways influenc'd or byass'd by any Person, or Party of Men whatever, to publish the following Sheets, but do it chiefly in Justice to the Memory of a Servant of the Lord; nor am I one of the People called *Quakers*, but a hearty Lover of Truth and Innocence where-ever I see it.

Farewell.

MEMOIRS

Preceding the TRYAL of

James Nailer.

JAMES being at a Meeting at the House of one *Edward Brigg*'s, at *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, on the First Day of the Week, where many People were assembled, he was desired by several of the *Friends*, to meet the Day following at Widow *Cock*'s House, about a Mile from *Kendal*, whereof the *Priests* having Notice, raised the Town of *Kendal* against him; but being long in gathering together, the Meeting was over; but Spies being out upon the Steeple-Top, and other Places, Notice was given which Way *James* passed from thence; and coming down towards *Kendal*, two *Parsons*, or *Money-Preachers*, being accompanied with a Justice of the Peace, and some other Magistrates of the Town with an exceeding great multitude of People following them, met him; one of the *Priests*, saying, *Nayler, I have a Message from the Lord Jesus Christ to thee, but that there is not a convenient Place.* To which *James* answer'd, *The Lord Jesus Christ is no Respecter of Places.* Upon which the

Prieſt ſpoke as follows, *I conjure thee that thou tell me by what Power thou inflict'eſt ſuch Puniſhment upon the Bodies of Creatures. James* anſwered, *Doſt thou remember who it was that did adjure Chriſt to tell if he were the Son of God, and asked by what Authority he did thoſe Things?* But the *Prieſt* ſtill conjuring him to tell by what Power he did it; *James* ſaid, *Doſt thou acknowledge it to be done by a Power?* Yea, ſaid the Parſon, *I have the Spirit of God, and thereby I know it is done by a Power. James* then ſaid, *If thou haſt the Spirit of God, as thou ſayeſt thou haſt, then thou canſt tell by what Power it is done.* The *Prieſt* then reply'd, *When God comes, he comes to torment the Souls, and not the Bodies. James* anſwer'd, *He comes to redeem the Souls.*

But after much jangling, the *Parſon* began to accuſe him before the Juſtice and Magiſtrates of many Things, as, That *he taught People to burn their Bibles, Children to diſobey their Parents, Wives their Husbands, and People to diſobey their Magiſtrates.* But not being able to prove any one, he began to accuſe *James* for preaching forth a Light that doth convince of Sin, *Which*, ſaid the Prieſt, *all have not.* To which *James* ſaid, *Put out one in this great Multitude that dares ſay he hath it not.* Said the *Prieſt*, Theſe are all *Chriſtians, but if a* Turk *or* Indian *were here, he would deny it. James* reply'd, *Thou goeſt far for a Proof; but if a* Turk *were here, he would witneſs againſt thee.*

The People by this Time made an Uproar, and beginning to Fight, the *Parſon* turn'd away, ſaying, *Here will be a Diſturbance.* Said *James*, *Theſe are thy Chriſtians, and this is the Fruit of thy Miniſtry.* However the Juſtice with ſome others, did endeavour to keep the rude People off him, ſo that they could not effect their purpoſe there; but he being to paſs over the Bridge, and thro' the Town, thoſe that were of the *Prieſts* Party, ran before, ſwearing they would throw him off the

Bridge

Bridge into the Water, but coming thither, and ſeeing their Purpoſe, he was encouraged in his God, who gave him Aſſurance of Protection, and did wonderfully keep him, and thoſe that were with him; for when he came unto the Bridge, *The Word of the Lord* came upon him, and he was made to lift up his Voice, and cry out againſt their Rage, and the Power of the Lord was with him, ſo that he received no harm, tho' he was made to ſpeak all along, and in the Market Place, and till he came out of the Town: But ſuch was the Power of the Lord, that neither he nor any with him, received any Harm. *The Work was wonderful, and we were brought much to admire it, and praiſe the Lord, who is bleſſed for ever and ever.*

Another Time, *James* being deſired of many Chriſtian Friends to be at a Meeting at *Orton*, there to wait upon the Lord, for what he would make known to his People, which he did accordingly; and many Friends and Brethren did accompany him; but the *Prieſts* having Intelligence ſome Days before, Five of them were gathered together, and many People from all Quarters. A Friend in the Town deſired *James* to come to his Houſe, and being come into the Houſe, a Meſſage was ſent from the *Prieſts*, deſiring him to come into the Field, under Pretence of a more convenient Place for the great Multitude. To which *James* anſwered, *It is my Deſire that all may be edified*; and coming into the Field, the *Prieſts* came with a great Multitude, and asked him by what Authority he came thither, and had gathered together ſo many People to break the Peace; and tempting him, ſaid, *Wilt thou be bound that none here ſhall break the Peace?* To which *James* anſwered, *We come not hither to create Offences, but if any Break the Law, let him ſuffer by the Law*; for he perceived they intended Violence, as it appeared afterwards.

But ſeeing they could not prevail in that, another of them deſired him to go into the Church, (as he called it,) tempting him, ſaying, *The People may all ſit and hear better.* But *James* perceiving their Deceit, ſaid, *All Places were alike to him; he would abide in the Field.* Whereupon they pulled out an Ordinance of Parliament, forbidding any to ſpeak, but ſuch as were authorized to ſpeak, either in Church, or Chappel, or any publick Place; and bad him ſpeak at his Peril, as he would anſwer the Contempt of it. To which he anſwered, ſaying, *This is not a publick Place.*— *No*, ſaid one of the *Prieſts*, *Is not this a Publick Place, the Town-Field?* and charged the Conſtable of the Town to do his Office, and examined *James*'s Authority: *James* anſwer'd, *Thoſe that are ſent to declare the Things of God, have not their Authority from Men.* Upon which, they bid him prove that. He then anſwer'd, *Paul received not his Commiſſion from Man, nor by Man.* To which one of them anſwer'd, *That was his Goſpel, but they would prove that Paul had a Call from Man to preach*; which, to make good, he named that Place in *Acts* 13. 2. where the Holy Ghoſt ſaid, *Separate me* Barnabas *and* Saul; *and the Apoſtles laid their Hands upon them*, which ſaid one of them, *was the laying on of Hands of the Presbytery:* But when he had found that Place, *James* ask'd him, whether that was *Paul*'s Call to the Miniſtry (three times) but he anſwer'd nothing. Then ſaid *James*, *If that was his Call, he had preached long without a Call before that*, and quoted *Gal.* 1. to prove his Aſſertion.

Whereupon that Buſineſs ended. On which another *Prieſt* ſtood up and ſaid, *Thou oughteſt to give an Account of thy Faith to every one that asketh*; whereupon he asked ſeveral Queſtions; to which *James* anſwered, inſomuch that ſome that ſtood by, cry'd out, *Anſwer not all; but ask him ſome.* A while after *James* asked him, *How he would prove himſelf a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and live upon Tythes?* To which

which he would not answer. Then said *James*, *Neither will I answer thee, if thou ask me twenty more.*

The next Question he asked, was, *Whether Christ was ascended or no?* But *James* said, *I will not answer thee:* Whereupon he cry'd out to the People, and said, *He denies the Humanity of Christ*; and made a great Outcry among the People of it. But the People cry'd out, saying, *Let us hear him; you have often told us many things against him; let him speak, and then if he speak not Truth, you may reprove him.* *James* hearing the Desire of the People, began to speak, and the People gave Audience, and were very silent. But beginning to preach forth Christ alone to be the Teacher of his People in Spirit and in Truth, one of the *Priests* cry'd out, *I cannot endure to hear this Seducer any longer.* Upon which, *James* said, *Prove me a Seducer before all this People, or else thou art a false Accuser.* But he had not one Word to say against any thing that he had spoken: But said, *If thou wilt not answer me that Question I asked thee, I will call thee a Seducer as long as I live.*

Whereupon, seeing there could be no Peace there, nor Liberty to speak, *Friends* advised *James* to go into the House, and they kept close about him to keep him from the Violence of those that came along with the *Priest*; but they raged so, that he and other *Friends* received Stripes, and with much ado got to the House. But the raging Tumult waited about the Door to do Mischief, and kept shouting about the House all the while he was speaking, but the House being filled with People, they could not come to their Purpose. And the Lord so ordered it in the Evening, they came away without any more harm: But not long after there came some of the *Priests* Party about the House, and asked if *Nayler* was gone; and when they heard he was gone, they said, *He may thank God for that.* Thus by the Wisdom of God, he escaped their Violence at that Time.

How-

However, the *Priests*, the Sunday following (ſo called) vented their Sermons ſuitable to what they intended, poſſeſſing the People that he was a Blaſphemer, and denied the Reſurrection, and the Humanity of Chriſt, and all Authority; and that the Parliament had opened a Gap for Blaſphemy; and, (as it was ſaid by ſome of the Hearers,) they did God good Service that would knock him down. Thus having ſtirred up the ruder ſort, the next Day they prevail'd with one call'd a Juſtice of Peace, and got him to come twelve Miles from his own Houſe, and having armed a great Multitude againſt the next Morning, they came very early to the Houſe where *James* was, (where many Chriſtian Friends would have met that Day,) and aſked for *Nayler*, threatning to knock out his Brains againſt the Stones in the Wall, and that they would pull down the Houſe, if he would not come out, tho' the Door was never ſhut againſt them. However, ſeveral came into the Houſe, and commanded him to come forth, under Pretence to diſpute with the *Prieſt*. But *James* perceiving their Intent, anſwer'd, *You did not uſe me ſo civilly the laſt Time I was amongſt you; But if any have a Mind, they may come in, the Doors are open.* Which Anſwer they told the *Prieſts*, whereupon they ruſhed violently in, and took him by the Throat, and hall'd him out of the Door into a Field, where was a Man whom they called a Juſtice, who with a Pitchfork ſtruck off his Hat, and commanded him to anſwer to ſuch Queſtions, as the *Prieſts* would ask him. Whereupon a *Prieſt* began to ask many Queſtions, concerning the Reſurrection, the Humanity of Chriſt, the Scriptures, and divers other Queſtions, as the Sacrament, and ſuch like; to all which he anſwered, and proved what he ſaid by Scripture. But at laſt being asked if Chriſt was in him, he ſaid, *He witneſſed HIM* in him, *in Meaſure*. The *Prieſt* asked, *If Chriſt was in him as Man.*

James

James answer'd, *Christ is not divided; for if he be, he is no more Christ: But I witness, that Christ is in me, who is God and Man, in Measure.* But the *Priest* said, *Christ is in Heaven with a Carnal Body.* To which *James* reply'd, *Christ filleth Heaven and Earth, and is not carnal but Spiritual; for if Christ be in Heaven with a carnal Body, and the Saints with a Spiritual Body, this is not proportionable; neither was that a carnal Body which came in among the Disciples, the Doors being shut; for Christ is a Mystery, and thou knowest him not.*

Then after much jangling, and tempting, the *Priest* not having got the Advantage he waited for, he cry'd out unto the People, not to receive him into their Houses; and alledged that Passage in the Second Epistle of *John* ver. 10. Now, how suitable that Place was for his Purpose, all People may see who have their Eyes; for there they are forbidden to receive any into their Houses, but such who *abide in the Doctrine of Christ, and confess themselves that they had both the Father and the Son, and preach that Doctrine.* But the *Priests* say that is Blasphemy.

Then the *Priest* turned away from him; upon which the armed Multitude began to be violent against divers Friends that were there. *James* hearing *Friends* cry out, said to the Justice, *You will surely set us peaceably into the House again.* But seeing the Justice going away, and to leave them in the Hands of the rude Multitude, he gave himself up, saying, *The Will of the Lord be done.*

Upon which the Justice turned again, saying, *We will see him in the House again.* And going towards the House, many *Friends* kept close about *James*, exposing their own Bodies to the Danger of their Weapons, to save him harmless; and so with much ado they got into the House, not receiving much Harm. Which being done, and as *James* was praising the Lord for his wondrous Deliverance from their malicious Intents, some heard them say, *If*

we let him go thus, all People will run after him. On which they agreed that he ſhould be brought before the Juſtice again, and came with Violence, and haled him out again. Then the Juſtice and the *Prieſt* getting on Horſeback, they cauſed him to run after them to an Ale-houſe on the other Side the Water, where they went in, not ſuffering one *Friend* to go in with *James*,; and when he came before the Juſtice, he told him, if he would not put off his Hat, he would ſend him to Priſon, and alſo becauſe he *THOU*-ed him; for the Juſtice ſaid, *My Commiſſion runs* T E. To which *James* anſwered, *I do it not in Contempt; for I own Authority, and honour it, according to the Scriptures: But I find no ſuch* Honour *commanded in the Scripture, but forbidden.* Then they concluded to commit him for That, and alſo as a wandering Perſon, and ſaid, none there knew him whence he came; (for thoſe who knew him were kept out.) Then ſaid he to *Arthur Scaife*, *Thou kneweſt me. I was in the Army with thee* 8 *or* 9 *Years.* Its no Matter, ſaid the Juſtice, *thou art no Soldier now.*

Then they wrote a *Mittimus* to ſend him to Priſon, and carried him to *Kirkby-Steven* that Night, and ſhut him up in a Chamber, and ſet a Guard upon him; but divers of the *Friends* followed into the Town, where a great Multitude was gathered together for Meeting; then did the People come from the Steeple-houſe, where a *Prieſt* had been preaching; for divers of the *Prieſts* were gathered together that Day; ſome preaching, ſome plotting, and ſome perſecuting. *Jezabel's* Faſt was a Preparation for *Naboths* Death. But *Friends* not being ſuffered to go into the Houſe where *James* was, they abode in the Streets; and ſome of them being moved to ſpeak to the People, the *Prieſts* perceiving the People to give Attention to what was ſpoken, made Complaint: Whereupon ſome were ſent forth, and with Violence fetched in one

Francis

Francis Howgil, a *Friend*, who was ſpeaking to the People, and brought him into the *High-Prieſts* Hall, where were five *Prieſts* aſſembled, with many others of their Party, but not one *Friend*. And bringing him before the Juſtice, he was commanded to put off his Hat. He anſwered, *I know no ſuch Law*. Then a *Prieſt* ſaid, *He will tread both Miniſtry and Magiſtracy under his Feet*. *Francis Howgill* anſwer'd, *Thou art a falſe Accuſer*. *Prove wherein*. Upon which, one that ſtood by, took off his Hat, and caſt it into the Fire. Then ſaid the Juſtice, *What is this thou ſpeakeſt againſt the Miniſters?* *Francis* anſwered, *What haſt thou to accuſe me of?* Whereupon one affirmed that he ſaid, *All the Miniſters that taught for Hire, and in the Steeple-houſes, were Enemies and Liars againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and no Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt*. Upon that, the Juſtice ſaid, *Thou ſpeakeſt againſt the Law; for the Law gives them their Maintenance*. He ſaid, *I meddle not with the Law, but with their Practice*. Then ſaid *Francis* to the *Prieſt*, *Didſt thou ever know a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt that he was a Perſecutor, or did labour to impriſon any?* And after ſome more Diſcourſe, he ſaid to the *Prieſt*, *I have ſeen a great deal of Tyranny and Perſecution in this Days Actions*. Then ſaid the Juſtice to the People, *Take Notice, he ſaith the Law I act by, is Tyranny and Perſecution*. To which the People aſſented. Then ſaid *Francis*, *Thou mayſt give out to the People what thou wilt, but I ſpeak not of the Law, but of your Actions*. Upon which, *Francis* and *James* were both ſent to Priſon, a Guard of eight Men were ſet over them, who ſpent the Night in Drinking, Swearing, and filthy and unclean Talking: And the more they were deſired by the People to take heed of Sin, the more filthy they did appear. The next Day they were guarded to *Appleby*: But ſome *Friends* following, could not be ſuffered to paſs on the Streets that Way, ſo great was their Envy. And the Priſoners being brought thither, much means was

uſed that none ſhould come at them, but ſuch as was ſent to tempt them. There they were kept until the Seſſions, in which Time they ſent up and down the Country to ſeek for any who would witneſs any thing againſt them, and improved their utmoſt Intereſt for the Priſoners Diſadvantage. A Jury was alſo pack'd, divers of whom were reſolved on the Buſineſs, ſo that it was told the Priſoners what would become of them, before the Trial came on; and it happen'd accordingly: For the Day came, and Judgment was paſs'd; but the Priſoners never ſaw their Accuſers, nor knew who they were. But againſt that Day, the *Prieſts* had prepared three large Petitions, ſtufft with moſt filthy Untruths and Slanders, but not one of them could be proved, tho' one of the Juſtices ſaid to them, *It is fit they ſhould be proved.* Neither was there any thing in the Petitions which they could charge upon the Priſoners, ſave only what the Power of the Lord had manifeſted at their Meetings, in ſhaking proud Fleſh, and pouring out his Spirit upon many, eſpecially (as they ſaid) upon little Children; which the *Prieſts* concluded was Sorcery and Witchery, and of the Devil.

Likewiſe they had gathered up all Reports, true or falſe, of Things done by many, that the Priſoners had not ſeen the Faces of, nor ever knew; thinking thereby to make them odious to the People. They alſo brought two *Prieſts* out of *Lancaſhire*, to ſwear Things that another Man had ſpoken in the Preſence of Four Juſtices of the Peace, and for which the Man had been tryed and cleared.

THE

The Examination of James Naylor, *upon an Indictment of Blaſphemy, at the Seſſions at* Appleby *in* January 1652.

JUSTICE *Pearſon*, (ſpeaking to the Priſoners, ſaid) *Put off your Hats.*

Nailor. I do it not in Contempt of Authority; for I honour the Power, as it is of God, without Reſpect of Perſons, it being forbidden in Scripture. He that reſpects Mens Perſons, commits Sin, and is convinced of the Law as a Tranſgreſſor.

Juſt. Pearſ. *That is meant of reſpecting Perſons in Judgment.*

Nailor. If I ſee one in goodly Apparel, and a Gold Ring, and ſee one in poor and vile Raiment, and ſay to him in fine Apparel, Sit thou in a higher Place than the Poor, I am partial, and judged of evil Thoughts.

Col. Briggs. *If thou wert in the Parliament-Houſe, wouldſt thou keep it on?*

Nailor. If God ſhould keep me in the ſame Mind I am in now, I ſhould.

Col. Briggs. *I knew thou wouldſt contemn Authority.*

Nailer. I ſpeak in the Preſence of God, I do not contemn Authority, but I am ſubject to the Power, as it is of God, for Conſcience ſake.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Now Authority commands thee to put off thy Hat, what ſayeſt thou to it?*

Nailer. Where God commands one thing, and Man another, I am to obey God rather than Men.

Col. Benſon. *See whether the Law commands it, or your own Wills.*

Then the Indictment was read, wherein *James* was indicted for saying, That *Christ was in him, and that there was but one Word of God.*

Col. Brigs. *Where wast thou born?*

Nailer. At *Ardislaw*, two Miles from *Wakefield.*

Col. Brigs. *How long livedst thou there?*

Nailer. Until I was married: Then I went unto *Wakefield* Parish.

Col. Brigs. *What Profession was thou of?*

Nailer. A Husbandman.

Col. Brigs. *Wast thou a Soldier?*

Nailer. Yea; I was a Soldier betwixt Eight and Nine Years.

Col. Brigs. *Wast not thou at* Burford *among the* Levellers?

Nailer. I was never there.

Col. Brigs. *I charge thee, by the Lord, that thou tell me whether thou wast or no?*

Nailer. I was then in the *North*, and was never taxed for any Mutiny, or any other Thing while I served the Parliament.

Col. Brigs. *What was the Cause of thy coming into these Parts?*

Nailer. If I may have Liberty I shall declare it; I was at the Plow, meditating on the Things of God, and suddenly I heard a Voice, saying unto me, *Get thee out from thy Kindred, and from thy Father's House*; and I had a Promise given in with it. Whereupon I did exceedingly rejoyce, that I had heard the Voice of that God which I had professed from a Child, but had never known him.

Col. Brigs. *Didst thou hear that Voice?*

Nailer. Yea, I did hear it, and when I came home, I gave up my Estate, cast out my Money, but not being obedient in going forth, the Wrath of God was on me, so that I was made a Wonder to all, and none thought I would have lived: But (after I was made willing) I began to make some Pre-

Preparation; as Apparel, and other Neceſſaries, not knowing whither I ſhould go. But ſhortly afterward going a Gate-ward with a *Friend* from my own Houſe, having an old on Suit without any Money, having neither taken Leave of Wife or Children, not thinking then of any journey, as I was commanded to go into the Weſt, not knowing whither I ſhould go; nor what I was to do there, but when I had been there a little while, I had given me What I was to declare; and ever ſince I have remained, not knowing to Day what I was to do to morrow.

Col. Brigs. *What was the Promiſe thou hadſt given?*

Nailer. That God would be with me; which Promiſe I find made good every Day.

Col. Brigs. *I never heard ſuch a Call as this is, in our Time?*

Nailer. I believe thee.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Is Chriſt in thee?*

Nailer. I witneſs *Him* in me: and if I ſhould deny him before Men, he would deny me before my Father which is in Heaven.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Spiritual, you mean,*

Nailer. Yea, Spiritual.

Juſt. Pearſ. *By Faith, or how?*

Nailer. By Faith.

Juſt. Pearſ. *What Difference then between the Miniſters and you?*

Nailer. The Miniſters affirm Chriſt to be in Heaven with a carnal Body, but I with a Spiritual Body.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Which of the Miniſters ſay Chriſt is in Heaven with a carnal Body?*

Nailer. The Miniſter (ſo called) of *Kirby-Steven.*

Then Prieſt *Higginſon* ſtood up, and affirmed it again, openly before all the Court.

Nailer. If Chriſt be in Heaven with a Carnal Body, and the Saints with a Spiritual Body, it is not

not proportionable; neither was that a Carnal Body which appeared among the Diſciples, the Doors being ſhut, and appeared in divers Shapes.

Queſt. by a different Perſon. *Was Chriſt Man or no?*

Nailer. Yea, he was, and *took upon him the Seed of Abraham*, and was real Fleſh and Bone; but is a Myſtery not known to the carnal Man; for he is begotten of the *Immortal Seed*, and thoſe that know him, know him to be Spiritual; for it was the *Word* that *became Fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us.* And if he had not been Spiritual, he had not wrought by Redemption.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Is Chriſt in thee as Man?*

Nailer. Chriſt filleth all Places, and is not divided. Separate God and Man, and he is no more Chriſt.

Juſt. Pearſ. *If we ſtand to diſpute theſe Things, we ſhould have the Miniſters.*

James perceiving Prieſt *Higginſon* offended, becauſe he had told of his ſaying, that Chriſt was in Heaven with a Carnal Body, ſaid, *Friend*, I had not accuſed thee, had I not been asked what was the Difference between the Miniſters and me; for I am not come to accuſe any, for I am againſt Accuſations.

Col. Brigs. *Waſt thou not of a Kirk about* Sawrby?

Nailer. I was a Member of an Independent Church at *Weedchurch.*

Col. Brigs. *Waſt thou not excommunicated for thy blaſphemous Opinions?*

Nailer. I know not what they have done ſince I came forth; but before I was not, to my Knowledge.

Col. Brigs. Called out to one *Coal* in the Court, ſaying, *Did you ere hear ſuch a Call as this? Did you hear it?*

Coale. Yea, I heard Part of it.

Col.

Col. Brigs. *Didſt not thou write a Paper wherein was mentioned, That* If thou thinkeſt to be ſaved by that Chriſt which died at *Jeruſalem*, thou art deceived?

Nailer. If I cannot witneſs Chriſt nearer than *Jeruſalem*, I ſhall have no Benefit by him; but I own no other Chriſt but that who *witneſſed a good Confeſſion before* Pontius Pilate; *which Chriſt I witneſs in me now.*

Col. Brigs. *Wilt thou deny thy Hand?*

Nailer. I will not deny my Hand, if I may ſee it; and I deſire that I may have ſo much Favour, that that Paper may be kept as an Evidence either with, or againſt me.

A large Petition being read, wherein was ſomething againſt *Quaking and Trembling.*

Juſt. Pearſ. *How comes it to paſs, that People* quake *and* tremble?

The Scriptures witneſs the ſame Condition in the Saints formerly. As *David, Daniel, Habakkuk* and divers others.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Did they fall down?*

Nailer. Yea, ſome of them did ſo.

Coale. David *ſaid all his Bones were broken, but they were whole.*

Nailer. So are theſe now.

Coale. Moſes *trembled; for he ſaw the Face of God, and all Iſrael.*

Nailer. Did all *Iſrael* ſee the Face of God? That croſſeth the Scriptures.

Coale. *They ſaw his Glory. I ſhall ſee the Lord with theſe Eyes,* [putting his Fingers to his Eyes.]

Nailer. They muſt firſt be made Spiritual; he cannot be ſeen with carnal Eyes; for he is a Spirit, and no Fleſh, can ſee God, and live.

Coale. *That Light by which I am juſtified, is a created Light.*

Nailer.

Nailer. That Light by which I am juſtified, is not a created Light.

Coale. *That is true.*

Juſt. Pearſ. *To the Word: What ſayeſt thou to the Scriptures? Are they the Word of God?*

Nailer. They are a true Declaration of the *Word* that was in them, who ſpoke them forth.

Higginſon. *Is there not a written Word?*

Nailer. Where readeſt thou in the Scriptures, of a written Word? The Word is ſpiritual, not ſeen with carnal Eyes; but as for the Scriptures, they are true, and I witneſs them true in meaſure fulfilled in me, as far as I am grown up.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Why doſt thou diſturb the Miniſters in their publick Worſhip?*

Nailer. I have not diſturbed them in their publick Worſhips.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Why doſt thou ſpeak againſt Tythes, which are allowed by the* States?

Nailer. I meddle not with the States; I ſpeak againſt them that are Hirelings, as they are Hirelings: Thoſe that are ſent of Chriſt never took Tythes, nor never ſued any for Wages.

Juſt. Pearſ. *Doſt thou think we are ſo beggarly as the Heathens, that we cannot afford our Miniſters Maintenance? We give them it freely.*

Nailer. They are Miniſters of Chriſt, who abide in the Doctrine of Chriſt.

Juſt. Pearſ. *But who ſhall judge? How ſhall we know them?*

Nailer. By their Fruits you ſhall know them: They that abide not in the Doctrine of Chriſt, make it appear they are not the Miniſters of Chriſt.

Juſt. Pearſ. *That is true.*

THE

The Report from the Committee, to whom the Examination of James Nailer, for Blasphemy, and other Misdemeanours were referred.

Resolv'd,

THAT the Matter of Fact, together with the particular Resolutions of this Committee thereupon, be reported to the House.

First, I shall give you the short History of his Life, as the Committee had it from his own Mouth. He saith he was born in the Parish of *Ardisloe*, near *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, where he lived 22 or 23 Years (according to the World) as he expressed it. Then he removed into the Parish of *Wakefield*, where he continued till the Civil Wars began; during which time he was under several Commands, and at last was Quarter-master in Major General *Lambert*'s Troop; in which Service he continued till disabled by Sickness in *Scotland*, after which he retired to his own Home; about which Time he was a Member of an Independent Church at *Horbery* in *Yorkshire*, of which Church Mr. *Christopher Marshal* was Pastor, and by the same Church since (*a*) cast out,

C

(*a*) *If he was cast out, it was not till some Years after he had withdrawn himself from them, for their wanton and unchristian Carriage, especially of* Christopher Marshal *their Pastor; which Things he had charg'd upon them in Writing under Nine Particulars, proving their Practice contrary to Scripture, but never yet received a Line from them of any Crime, as he declared before the Committee, which they did not think was for their Turn to insert in their Report.*

out, (as (*b*) himſelf confeſſeth he hath heard) by which Church he was charged as guilty of (*c*) *Blaſphemy*, and uncivil and (*d*) *wanton Carriage* with one Mrs. *Mary Roper* a married Woman, as that ſhe ſhould ſit on his Knee, and kiſs him before (*e*) divers other Perſons; and That, (*f*) *It was his Opinion, He might lie with any Woman that was of his Judgment.* And then after ſome (*g*) Time, went to viſit the *Quakers* in *Cornwall*, and in his way, was by Major *Saunders* committed to the Common-Goal in *Exon*, as a (*h*) Vagrant, and thence he and his Company being delivered by an Order from the Council, they travelling to *Briſtol*, in the Way *Nayler* (*i*) *Took upon him*, as was alledged againſt him. And as he paſſed thro' *Chewſtoke* in the County of *Sommerſet* towards *Briſtol*, it is informed upon Oath certified by three Juſtices to the Committee, That *ſtaying in that Town one Night, he was there*

(*b*) *He heard he was caſt out, from others, but not from any of the Congregation.*

(*c*) *Which pretended Blaſphemy was, That he had affirmed in a Book*, Juſtification by the Gift of God's Righteouſneſs, *which he proved from* Rom. 4. *which ſtopt their Mouths.*

(*d*) *But nothing proved further than common Salutations, which then were not accounted evil, being above ſeven Years ſince, and before he ſaw the Vanity of thoſe Cuſtoms.*

(*e*) *It ſeems then it was not done in a Corner.*

(*f*) *This he denied before the Committee, as utterly falſe, being never his Judgment.*

(*g*) *Which Time was but the Summer before, being about Seven Years after the Fact above-mentioned was pretended to be done.*

(*h*) *This is falſe, for Major* Saunders *gave him Liberty to go on his Journey; but he was brought back about* 20 *Miles from thence, and committed by a Judge, and fined* 20 *Marks for not putting off his Hat.*

(*i*) *Reader, pray mind the Accuſation,* James took upon him as was alledged. *Muſt it be taken for granted becauſe alledged, when nothing is made appear that is evil?*

there in a Chamber with (*k*) three Women *of his Company, leaning upon the Bed with one of them, at Night, when the Servant of the Houſe left them. And in the Morning the Servant found* Naylor *ON the* (*l*) *Bed with one of the Women, and ſome of the Company wiſhed the Servant to make no Noiſe to awake them.*

The Way taken in this Report, will be,

Firſt, to give you the Articles charged againſt him.

Secondly, The *Evidence*; wherein there will be a little mention of the Examinations and Informations upon Oath, taken at *Briſtol*; againſt which, becauſe there lies a ſeeming Objection, I ſhall firſt clear that upon the Matter of Fact.

The Objection was, *That they were not read again as is uſual in ſuch Caſes.*

Anſwer. That two Witneſſes, both of more than ordinary good Repute, in that place were both put, and took Characters of the Queſtions and Anſwers there, and comparing their Notes, did both of them publickly avow to the Committee, as that which they were ready to depoſe, That, (*m*) *every material Paſſage was read unto the Parties once or twice after they writ it down, and that they were the ſame which were offered to the Committee*, atteſted under the Mayor of *Briſtol*'s Hand to every of the ſaid Examinations and Informations, and the City Seal annexed to the whole. And beſides there is nothing in the ſaid

(*k*) *There were likewiſe Four Men in the Room. But why theſe were not mention'd, the Reader may determine.*

(*l*) *Where was any evil in this? To be* ON *the Bed, while ſome of the others were leaning upon ſome Part of the Bed, there being but one Bed in the Room, and they having ſate up all Night, being upon the Road.*

(*m*) *This is an utter Falſity of the Committee; for the Priſoners did not hear them read.*

Examinations and Informations taken there, but what is generally more clearly made out upon their Examinations before the Committee.

Other Evidence will be from *Nailer*'s Examination, wherein is moſt of this whole matter, which was taken in Characters, by (*n*) Five of the Committee, who were appointed to, and did compare their Notes.

Thirdly, The Opinion of the Committee.

The whole Fact will fall under one of theſe two Articles.

Firſt, James Nayler *did* (*o*) *aſſume the* Geſture, Words, Honour, Worſhip *and* Miracles *of our bleſſed Saviour.*

Secondly, *The Names and incommunicable Attributes and* (*p*) *Titles of our bleſſed Saviour.*

As to Part of the firſt Article, That *James Nayler* riding thro' a Town in *Somerſet*, his Company ſpread their Garments, and ſang *Holy, Holy* before him, and alſo ſang the like at his Entrance into *Briſtol*, one going (*q*) bareheaded before his Horſe.

The Evidence was, That *Dorcas Erbury* in her Examination before the Committee in the Painted Chamber confeſſed, That ſhe did ſpread Garments before him; And *Martha Simmons* in her examination at the ſame Time ſaith, That thoſe Garments that

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(*n*) *The Committee had acted like Juſt Judges had they reported the Priſoners full Anſwers; but on the contrary, they pick'd out what would make againſt the Priſoners, and that with Miſrepreſentations too.*

(*o*) *How did he aſſume? Becauſe he was wholly ſilent, and ſubmitted to the Will of his Father.*

(*p*) *See his laſt Anſwer to the Committee, and how falſe this Charge is, may appear throughout the whole Report.*

(*q*) *Is this his Blaſphemy to bear others praiſe the Lord? or that others in Obedience to God go bare-headed? Is not this Thing uſually practis'd amongſt all Profeſſors of Chriſtianity? But what Evil hath* James *done?*

that she did spread, she spread in Obedience to the Lord. And (r) *Hannah Stranger* being then also examined, said, she threw two Handkerchiefs before him, which she did because he that is Lord of all commanded her so to do. And

John Stranger confesseth, That he saw others spread Garments before him in the Way from (s) *Exon* to *Bristol*. And

James Naylor himself (t) confesseth (upon the Question, Whether Garments were spread before him) that some Clothes were cast down, and afterwards that, some Gloves and other things.

The Evidence for singing, *Holy, Holy* was thus. *Dorcas Erbury* in her Examination at *Bristol*, being then asked why she passed along singing, said she did not do it, but they that did it, was commanded to do it; and the Lord hath made it manifest that they were moved of the Lord to it; and being asked to whom they sang? and whom they called the *Holy One of Israel*? she said, Him that rode upon the horse, (u) and she would maintain it with her Blood. And being examined by the Committee, as to this Part of the Examination, and advised to deny it, if it were false, yet did not deny it, tho' she did some other Part of that Examination.

Mat-

(r) *But where's* his *Blasphemy? Must he suffer because the Women obey'd the Lord?*

(s) James Naylor *never commanded any to do this Thing, then where's his Blasphemy? Why must Obedience to God, who is Lord of ALL, yielded by another, be imputed to him for Blasphemy?*

(t) *Its not deny'd. But where is the Blasphemy all this while? Is it Blasphemy to confess what others do?*

(u) *If the Committee had not been given up to judicial Blindness, they might have consider'd, she meant by* Holy One of Israel, *that Manifestation or Display of the Essence of God,* IN James Naylor, *and not to the* outward Body *of James, which was no more than the Creature.*

Martha Simmons being examined in the Painted Chamber, whether ſhe did ſing the Words *Holy Holy*, before the ſaid *James Nailer*, anſwered, it is my Life to praiſe the Lord, whether he be before me, or from me, it is my life to praiſe the Lord. And being asked whether ſhe heard any Perſons ſing *Holy, Holy*, before the ſaid *James Nailer*, ſhe anſwered, it is our Life to praiſe the Lord.

Hanna Stranger being examined in the Painted Chamber, whether ſhe ſang the Words *Holy, Holy*, anſwered, She could not well remember the Words, but if ſhe did not ſing *Holy, Holy*, ſhe witneſſeth the *Holy of Holies* was riſen, which moved her ſo do; but ſaid further, She did not ſtand there to accuſe her ſelf.

James Nailer being examined by the Committee, whether any ſang *Holy, Holy*, before him as he rode; anſwered, (x) *There were Praiſes ſung to the Lord*; and being asked whether thoſe Words, *Holy, Holy*, were ſung, anſwer'd, that he heard thoſe Words; and being asked as to the Singing before him, when he rode into *Briſtol*, anſwered, *That there was a Pſalm ſung, ſuch a one as the Lord was pleaſed to give into the Hearts of them that ſang*; and being asked as to the Words of the Pſalm, whether they were *Holy, Holy*, ſaid, *It may be it was, Very like it might be ſo.*

And in his Examination at *Briſtol*, being asked why he came in there in ſuch an unuſual manner, two women leading his (q) Horſe, and ſinging, with one bare before him, ſaid, *It was for the Praiſes of his Father*, and that he may not refuſe any thing that

(x) *Obſerve here*, James Nailor *acknowledges the Praiſes were ſung to the Lord.*

(y) *And what Law of God or Man is here broken, or doth ſay that this is Blaſphemy, to have his Horſe led, and one to go bare-head before him, or to be accompanied with ſinging Praiſes to the Lord.*

that is moved of the Lord; and that he did believe the Father did command them to do it; and being there asked whom they meant by the Word *Holy*, that they sang, he answered, *That they that sang, were all of Age to answer for themselves.*

And this speaks something for the proving of part of the first Article, vindicating one going bare-headed before him, and Women leading his Horse, which is more fully proved by the Informations upon Oath of of *George Wycherly*, and *Richard Hart*, taken at *Bristol*, before the Mayor there, and certified as aforesaid, and upon Confession of one *Thomas Wedlock* before the said Mayor, who went bare-headed before *James Nailer*, and said he was moved by the Spirit so to do. And *James Nailer* himself upon his Examination by the Committee, when he was asked whether any went bare-headed before him as he went into *Bristol*, answered, *He did not know, he took little notice of it, but heard some say it was so*; and being asked whether any Women led his Horse, answered, *There was a Woman took Hold of the Bridle of the Horse.*

Resolution of the Committee, of this whole Evidence. The Committee were of Opinion, (z) That the first Article was proved.

One thing also being Part of the Matter of Fact, we think worthy your Knowledge, tho' much (a) Stress will not be laid on it; And that is, that the De-

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(z) *A strange sort of Proof that he assumed such things, when he himself was silent, passing on his Journey, acting no Evil either against God or Man; neither did he require any of these Things to be done, but durst not forbid what God bid others to do.*

(a) *It seems the Committee will not pass by the least Trifle that will help to blacken pure Innocence. And if they did not lay much Stress thereupon, why did they mention it? Was it a Crime to wear Hair in its natural Colour as was the Gift of God. If it was like Christs, so much the better, it was the Work of God, and*

Deſcription of our Saviour by *Publius Lentulus* to the Senate of *Rome* in writing, (which is alſo imprinted) was taken upon one of *James Nailer's* Attendance, which is alſo certified by the ſaid Mayor; and for *Nailer's* Hair both Colour and Manner of wearing it, as alſo the Faſhion of his Beard, and Feature, and Perſon did much agree with that Deſcription, which alſo was taken Notice of by many of the Committee, how much he reſembled (as they (b) apprehended, with ſome Affectation) the Picture uſually drawn for our Saviour.

That in divers Anſwers he imitated our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, uſing the (c) ſame Expreſſions that he did in one Place; he ſaith, That he lived ſome Weeks fifteen or ſixteen Days, without any Food or other (d) Suſtenance; and being asked, Wherewithal God fed him, if not with Food; anſwered, *Man liveth not by Bread alone, but by every Word which proceedeth out of the Lord.*

I ſhall here mention one remarkable one in his Examination at *Briſtol*; his Expreſſion was, *If they had known the Father, they ſhould have known him alſo.* And *Nayler* being examined by the Committee to this, whether that was his Anſwer at *Briſtol*, he anſwered in theſe Words, Truly I can ſay little of That, whether I did ſay it or no; but if I did ſay

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and no Art us'd to make it ſo. How little Regard had theſe Men to their great Example, who accuſe James *as the greater Offender becauſe God hath made him moſt like him. Neither was the Letter above-mention'd known by* James *to be amongſt any of his Company, till after it was taken from them, and ſo he told the Speaker.*

(b) *Certainly their Apprehenſions were very dark, elſe might they have diſcern'd it was not Affectation in him.*

(c) *Muſt the uſing the Expreſſions of Chriſt Jeſus be a Crime, when we are commanded to be like him.*

(d) *This was offered to be proved by divers Witneſſes, that he did ſo, but is not Blaſphemy.*

ſay it there, it is true; *for if any one da know the Father, they ſhall know what I am, and where I live; and none can know my Life further than they know the Father; for the Father is my Life: None can know my Life, but they that know my Father* (e); *for he is my Life.* This I particularly mention, being commanded (*f*) by the Committee, who reſolved, That this (*g*) whole Anſwer of *James Nailer*, be reported to the Houſe.

Another Part of this Article was, That he received the outward Worſhip of being (*h*) kneeled unto, and having his Feet (*i*) kiſſed; and for this the Evidence was,

Martha Simmons in her Examination at *Briſtol*, ſaid, She ought to worſhip him, but here (*k*) denied.

And further the Evidence went, that after his Impriſonment at *Briſtol*, it appeared by the Information upon Oath at *Briſtol*, to wit, of *Thomas Perkins* and *Thomas Cole*.

Thomas Perkins informeth, that *Dorcas Erbury* fell down at *Nailer's* Feet, and kiſſed his Feet; and the

(e) *Is it an Offence to have the Life of God? Had not the Children of God their Life hid with Chriſt in God? Read* Col. 3. 3.

(f) *And why not the reſt of his Anſwers, wherein his Innocence might more fully have appeared? And yet here is nothing in this, or any other, that proves him either a Blaſphemer or an Offender.*

(g) *And why ſhould not his other Anſwers have been reported alſo, ſeeing they thought fit to queſtion him; and they that were to judge ought to have known the whole Truth.*

(h) *This he denies to receive as to the outward Man, tho' they required Kneeling from him at the Bar of the Houſe.*

(i) *What Blaſphemy is in this, to kiſs the Foot more than the Hand, or any Part of the Body?*

(k) *If ſhe denied it, why is it reported as Evidence? And if ſhe had confeſſed ſuch a Thing, how doth that make him guilty of Blaſphemy?*

ſame Evening one *Alice Brooks* fell on her (*l*) Knees before the ſaid *Nailer*, and *Nailer* put his Hands upon her Head, and ſaid, *Stand faſt*, &c.

Thomas Cole informeth, That the 25th of *October*, *Martha Simmons* and *Hannah Stranger* being called out of *Nailer*'s Room into their own Lodging, they one after another kneeled before *Nailer*, and laid their Heads on his Knees, and he laid his Hands on their Heads, making a groaning Noiſe within himſelf, and before they roſe from their Knees, he (*m*) croſſed his Hands over their Heads. And *Hannah Stranger*, at her Examination before the Committee confeſſed, That ſhe kneeled at *James Nailer*'s Feet, and kiſſed them; and others being demanded concerning theſe Actions, would give no Anſwer. And

James Nailer being examined whether any kneeled and kiſſed his Feet, anſwered, That *There might be ſuch Things, tho' he did not mind it, being Things that he did not glory in.* (*n*)

As for his doing of Miracles, particularly *Dorcas Exbury* ſaith, that ſhe was (*o*) dead in *Exeter* Goal two Days, and that *Nailer* laid his Hands upon her, and raiſed her, which ſhe affirmed in her Examination at *Briſtol*, and did not deny when examined as to this by the Committee.

To

(*l*) *If theſe Things were true, what Offence is committed? Did not the Saints do and ſuffer the ſame Things? Read* 1 Sam. 25. 23, &c. 2 Kings 4. 27, 37. Dan. 2. 46. Eſth. 8. 3. Mat. 18. 29. Luke 17. 16. John 11. 32. Luke 8. 41. Luke 7. 38, &c. John 13, 14, 15. *And why ſhould they be offended that the Saints Life and Practice be made manifeſt again in the World?*

(*m*) *Laying on of Hands was owned before the Houſe, but Croſſing was utterly denied.*

(*n*) *Mark this Saying of* James Nailer.

(*o*) *Is it Blaſphemy to raiſe from the Dead, by the Power of the Living God? Obſerve, the Committee don't ſo much as offer to deny the Matter of Fact.*

To which *Nailer* being examined whether *Dorcas Erbury* was dead in *Exon* Goal as in her Examination, anſwered, *If you ſpeak of ſuch a Death as you may underſtand, ſhe was dead.*

Being further asked, how ſhe was dead in his Underſtanding, anſwered, *I can do nothing of my ſelf.* Being asked, whether any other did raiſe her by his Hands, and if he laid his Hands upon her, anſwered, *There is Power in me from above.* And being demanded, whether he had ſuch a Power as to raiſe from the Dead, anſwered, *I have ſaid before, I cannot bear witneſs of my ſelf in the thing.* And being asked, who bore Witneſs of him, anſwered, (p) *The Scriptures do bear Witneſs to the Power which is in me, which is everlaſting.* And being demanded, whether he raiſed from the Dead by virtue of that Power, anſwered, *I can do nothing but what the Power doth in me*; and it is the ſame Power whereof you read in the Scriptures (q) *that hath raiſed the Dead according to the Meaſure of the Power manifeſt.*

And being asked, whether that Power were manifeſt in ſuch a Manner in him as to raiſe *Dorcas Erbury* from the Dead, anſwered, *I have ſaid, I ſhall not ſatisfie in Words concerning the Thing further than only this, That you may clearly underſtand* That *wherein* Dorcas Erbury, *or any elſe do attribute unto me, as to a Creature that hath Beginning and Ending,* That *I utterly* (r) *deny. This may ſerve at one Word, for there cannot be a more abominable Thing than to take from the Creator, and give to the* (ſ) *Creature the ſame Power which did raiſe from the Dead,*

(p) *If the Scriptures or any juſt Law of this Nation had been hearkened unto, this innocent Man would not have ſuffer'd.*

(q) *Obſerve this.*

(r) *What Blaſphemy are in theſe Words?*

(ſ) *Take particular Notice of this alſo.*

which you read in the Scripture; (t) *the ſame Chriſt, the ſame anointing according to the Meaſure of him, is manifeſt in me, and not another.* And being asked, if any prayed to Chriſt in him, whether he did diſown it, anſwered, *As a Creature I do diſown it* (u).

Theſe things (x) and divers others we have reported, as Part of the Matter of Fact.

Second Article.

That the ſaid James Nailer (y) *aſſumed the Name and the incommunicable Attributes and Titles of our bleſſed Saviour; as firſt,*

The Faireſt of Ten Thouſand.

As for this, the Evidence was in a Letter of *Hannah Stranger*, found about him at *Briſtol*, the giving him the Title of the *Faireſt of Ten Thouſand*; which upon her Examination at *Briſtol*, and before the Committee, ſhe confeſſed ſhe wrote to him in her Letter. And *James Nailer* being asked by the Committee, whether any ſuch Title as *The faireſt of Ten Thouſand* had been given to him in any Writing or Letter, he anſwered, *To what they did in the Letter, if they gave it to me as to the viſible, I do* (z) *deny it; but if they ſpeak it to that begotten*

of

(t) *Obſerve here, he ſpeaks not of a falſe Chriſt, but the ſame that was yeſterday, to Day, and for ever.*

(u) *Obſerve he denies any Power to be given to the Creature.*

(x) *What Matter of Fact is there in theſe Things, in the leaſt, Evil, or what the Scriptures do not vindicate?*

(y) *How aſſumed? becauſe others wrote and ſpoke what the Lord commanded them.*

(z) *Mark what is confeſſed, and what denied, and let the wiſe judge if the Scriptures ſpeak not the ſame Things,* 2 Cor. 4. 7. 10. *and* 2 Cor. 6. 18. *and* Chap. 13. 15. 1 Cor. 6. 19. *And ought not Chriſt to ſpeak, or be worſhipped in his Temple?*

of the Father in me, then I dare not deny it. And being willed to repeat that Anſwer again, he ſaid, *If they ſpeak it as to the viſible, as to that which is Earthly, then I deny (a) any ſuch Thing belonging to me in that Senſe; but if they ſpeak it to that which the Father hath begotten IN me, then I dare not deny it, becauſe THAT is (b) beautiful, wherever it is begotten.* And in his Second Examination before the Committee, his Anſwer was to the ſame Effect.

Reſolution of the Committee.

Upon this Evidence, the Committee were of Opinion, That James Nailer (c) *had aſſumed the Title of* The Faireſt of Ten Thouſand.

2. The only begotten Son of God.

And for that the Evidence was that *Hannah Stranger* in the ſaid Letter gave him that Title. And being demanded whether he did aſſume that Title, anſwered in theſe Words, *That there are many Sons (d) beſides; yet the Son of God I muſt witneſs, and dare not (e) deny; the Son of God I am, and dare not deny.* And being often preſſed to give a direct Anſwer whether he were the only begotten Son of God, anſwered thus, *I am the Son of God, but I have many Brethren.* And again ſaid, *I have many Brethren, tho' ſome of them do*

(a) *Obſerve, he ſtill denies any Honour to the Creature. His Yea is Amen.*

(b) *Where the moſt of that Beauty is revealed by God amongſt ten Thouſand, there is the faireſt of Ten Thouſand. This was his Teſtimony before the Houſe.*

(c) *They did him great Wrong; for he always deny'd, that* James Nallor (*which is the Creature*) *did take theſe Things upon him.*

(d) *Mark this alſo.*

(e) *Was not this a direct Anſwer, and ſufficient to all them that deſired to hear the Truth?*

do not yet know me. And being urged to confeſs or deny it, anſwered in theſe Words, *I have anſwered* That *I have given me of my Father to ſpeak for the preſent unto that Thing.* Being asked, whether he were the (*f*) only begotten Son of God, he anſwerſwered, (*g*) *Thou haſt ſaid it.* Which Queſtion and Anſwer being repeated to him as his Anſwer, he anſwered, (*h*) *Do not inſnare the Innocent.* And upon his Examination, taken, certified, and atteſted, as aforeſaid, being asked whether he be the only begotten Son of God, anſwered, That he *was the Son of God*, and that *the Son of God was but* (*i*) *one.*

But being examined by the Committee as to this Part of his Examination at (*k*) *Briſtol*, he affirmed, that this was not his Anſwer.

Reſolution of the Committee.

Upon this Evidence the Committee were of Opinion, that the Title of the only begotten Son of God was given to James Nailer. *And being demanded whether he aſſumed that Title, he did not deny it.* (*l*)

The Prophet of the moſt High God.

This Title we find given him in a Letter to *Nailer* from one *Jane Woodcock* found about him at *Bri-*

(*f*) *He that is a Son of God, is he not the only begotten of God? Doth any help God to beget his Children, ſave himſelf alone? See* James 1. 5. *Were they not ignorant of the Scriptures, and Power of God, they would not have ſtumbled at theſe Things.*

(*g*) *Hath he not well ſpoken? Let him that is ſpiritual, judge.*

(*h*) *Saw he not their Hearts?*

(*i*) *Mark this.*

(*k*) *Why did not they then at* Briſtol *write down his true Anſwer, and afterwards cauſe it to be read to them?*

(*l*) *To that which is viſible, he hath denied again and again.*

Briſtol. And being examined there upon that Clauſe in the Letter, he anſwered, *That he was the Prophet of the moſt High God.*

And *Martha Simmons* upon her Examination at *Briſtol*, ſaid, There was a Time when *James Nailer* was a true Prophet of the moſt high God, but now he is gone beyond, and is in the Adminiſtration of Peace, and is the Beloved of the Lord.

James Nailer being examined by the Committee, whether he owned this Title of the Prophet of the moſt high God, he anſwered, *Yea, I am a Prophet of the moſt High God.* And being preſſed to anſwer whether he were the Prophet, he anſwered, *There be other Prophets beſides (m) me.* And being preſſed again with the ſame Queſtion, anſwered, *I have ſaid what I may, as to that Thing in the Counſel of my Father.*

Upon this his Confeſſion at *Briſtol*, and Anſwer as aforeſaid,

Reſolution of the Committee.

The Committee were of Opinion, that James Nailer *had aſſumed the Title of the* (n) *Prophet of the moſt High God.*

The King of Iſrael.

And for this the Evidence was, we find in a Letter from one *Thomas Simmons* this Title given to *James Nailer*, and in the Examination of *Dorcas Erbury*, taken at *Briſtol* aforeſaid, we find ſomething to this Purpoſe, who being asked why ſhe pulled off his Stockings, ſhe anſwered, *becauſe he is the holy one of Iſrael, and deſerves and is worthy of it.*

And

(m) *Take Notice of this.*

(n) *If he was a Prophet of the moſt High, (as certainly he was) ſhould have done him no Harm,*

And *Martha Simmons*, upon her Examination at *Briſtol*, ſaith, that *James Nailer*'s Name is now buried, and that he is anointed *King of Iſrael*, to which being examined by the Committee, expreſly owned the Examination as to that to be true, and the thing it ſelf; but becauſe this varies a little from the Charge, and faſtens it not altogether upon *James Nailer*, they had this further Proof; *James Nailer* in his Examination at *Briſtol*, being asked whether he were the (o) King of *Iſrael*, anſwered, *Thou haſt ſaid.* To this *James Nailer* being examined by the Committee, whether this Queſtion were ſo demanded as aforeſaid, he anſwered, That *it was not asked by way of a Queſtion, whether he were the King of Iſrael, but that the Examiner did poſitively affirm, Thou art the King of Iſrael, to which he anſwered, Thou haſt ſaid it.* And being particularly examined by the Committee whether he did own the Title of the King of *Iſrael*, he anſwered in theſe Words, *I have no Kingdom in this World, yet a Kingdom I have, and he that hath redeemed me, hath redeemed me to be a King* (p) *for ever.* And being examined again to the ſame Queſtion, whether he owned the Title of the *King of Iſrael*, he anſwered, *As a Creature, I deny any ſuch Thing further than as God manifeſted in the Fleſh. And if they gave that Title to Chriſt* IN *me, then I do own it.*

And being urged to anſwer, whether any other had the ſame Meaſure of Judgment, to judge the Cauſe of *Iſrael* as he had, he anſwered, That *He had not at preſent any Thing given him of his Father to anſwer unto that.*

Re-

(o) *He witneſſed before his Judges, that he was a King over the Powers of Darkneſs, and ſo reigned according to Scripture.*

(p) *Where is any thing that is evil, proved that he hath ſaid or done?*

Reſolution of the Committee.

That James Nailer *hath aſſumed to be ſent to judge and try the Cauſe of Iſrael.*

Jeſus.

And for this the Evidence was,

John Stranger in a Poſtſcript in his Wife's Letter directed to, and found upon *James Nailer*, uſed theſe Words, *Thy Name is no more called* James, *but* Jeſus; which Poſtſcript being ſhewed to *Stranger* by the Committee, he owned it written by him, and being asked wherefore he called him *Jeſus*, anſwered in theſe Words, *I was moved of the Lord*, and afterwards *by the Spirit of the Lord*; and being asked whether by *Jeſus* he meant the Saviour of the World, he would give no Anſwer. And *Martha Simmons* in her Examination at *Briſtol* ſaith, that ſhe hath heard ſome call him *Jeſus*, which Examination being read unto her, ſhe denied not that, tho' ſhe denied another Part of that Examination. And *James Nailer* being examined whether any Perſon had called him by the Name of *Jeſus*, anſwered in theſe Words, *As I am viſible here before you, I believe they have not, but that the Name of the Lord is I N me, that I dare not deny*; and further ſaid, *that they have given that Name to him who is the Jeſus. But if they have given it to any other than to the Son of God that is in me, I do deny what they have ſpoken.* And being ask'd whether he deny'd, that they gave him the Name of *Jeſus*, anſwered, *As I am a Creature, I believe they did not*; and afterwards confeſſed, That *the Name of Jeſus was given him in a Letter, and if he had underſtood it of any other than the Jeſus, he ſhould have denied it.* Being demanded whether they gave the Name of *Jeſus* to him, he anſwered in theſe Words, *No o-*

therwiſe than as to the Son of God. Being demanded whether any had given him the Name of *Jeſus*, anſwered, *Not as to the viſible*; and being demanded to what then they gave the Name of *Jeſus*, anſwered in theſe Words, *I underſtand they gave that Name to the* Jeſus, *to the Chriſt that is IN me.*

Upon his ſecond Examination, being asked whether he owned the Name of *Jeſus*, and if that Title belonged to him, as to Chriſt within him, he anſwered, *That Name was never publiſhed to be called by me; neither do I call my ſelf by that Name, but what my Father hath publiſhed, is another Thing.*

Reſolution of the Committee.

Upon this Evidence, the Committee were of Opinion, that James Nailer *aſſumed the Name of* Jeſus.

He in whom the Hope of Iſrael ſtandeth.

And for this the Evidence was in the Letter of *Martha Simmons* found upon *James Nailer*, were theſe Words, *Thou well beloved Lamb of God, in whom the Hope of Iſrael ſtands.* And *James Nailer* in his Examination at *Briſtol* being asked, whether he were the Lamb of God in whom the Hope of *Iſrael* ſtands, anſwered, that *If I were not his Lamb, I ſhould not be ſo ſought to be devoured*; and that *the Hope of* Iſrael *ſtands in the Righteouſneſs of the Father in whomſoever it is*, and being asked whether *Iſrael's Hope* were in any Meaſure in him, he anſwered, *Yea*; which Examination of his at *Briſtol* being read to him by the Committee, he denied not this Part of it, and being examined by the Committee, whether their Hope of *Iſrael* did ſtand in him, anſwered in theſe Words, *It ſtands only in* (q) *Chriſt Jeſus*, and

(q) *Obſerve, he cannot deny Chriſt Jeſus, tho' himſelf he doth deny.*

and *as Chriſt Jeſus is known in me.* And being asked again whether he were in whom the *Hope of Iſrael* ſtands, anſwered in theſe Words, *No Way, but as Chriſt is in me:* And being then asked, whether as Chriſt is in you, ſo are you he, in whom the *Hope of Iſrael* ſtands? anſwered, *Nay, do not add to my Words, I ſpeak as plain as I can, that all the Glory may be given to* (r) *God, and none to the Creature, that the whole Glory may be given to my Father, and none to me, as you look upon me as a Creature*; and the next Queſtion was, whether as Chriſt is in you, are you he, in whom the *Hope of Iſrael* ſtands? to which he anſwered, *Chriſt in me the Hope of Glory*; and being examined, what Hopes *Iſrael* had in him beyond any other Perſon, anſwered, *None can know but they that are of Iſrael, they can give an Account of their Hopes*; Iſrael *muſt give an Account of their Hopes themſelves.*

Reſolution of the Committee.

That James Nailer *aſſumed to beſeem whom the* Hope of Iſrael *ſtands.*

The Committee being deſirous to inform themſelves how far the ſaid *Nailer* was conſenting unto that Worſhip, and thoſe Titles before given unto him, beſides the former Evidence, they did find in his Examination at *Briſtol*, where being asked why he came into the City in ſo unuſual a Manner, as the Woman leading his Horſe, and ſinging before him, he anſwered, that he *might not refuſe any thing that's moved of the Lord*, which being read unto him at the Committee, he denied not; and for the better

(r) *Take Notice of this Man's Blaſphemy, who would have all the Glory given to God. And what is there proved that he hath taken to himſelf?*

better clearing of this, the Committee examined *Hannah Stranger* whether *Nailer* reproved her, for caſting her Garments before him, or for kneeling or kiſſing his Feet, from whom they could get no other Anſwer than this, ſhe *would not accuſe or juſtify any*. The Committee did alſo find in their Examination of *Nailer*, being asked by them, whether he reproved the Women for ſpreading their Garments, and ſinging before him, anſwered in theſe Words, *Nay, only I ſaid unto them, take heed that they did nothing but what they were really moved of the* (*ſ*) *Lord*. And being alſo examined by the Commitee, whether he reproved thoſe that gave him the Title before-mentioned, anſwered, that he *had not at all ſpoken unto them concerning that Thing, only the Letters he had, wherein the Titles were given, and did not think at all that any ſhould have ſeen them, becauſe* (*t*) *he knew there was things in them that many could not bear, but now he ſaw his Father purpoſed they ſhould not be hid.*

Nailer at his Second Examination before the Committee, being demanded whether he had reproved the Perſons that gave him thoſe Titles and Attributes, he would not ſay he had reproved them; being demanded whether he owned them, or diſclaimed them, anſwered in theſe Words, *If they had it from the Lord, what am I, that I ſhould* (*u*) *judge it?* and being preſſed again with the ſame Queſtion, anſwered thus, *If the Father move them by his Spirit to give them to Chriſt I may not deny; if they give that to any other but Chriſt, I diſown it;*

(*ſ*) *Is not this good Counſel? Where is the Blaſphemy all this while?*

(*t*) *Here* James *clearly ſhews, he was far from publiſhing any of thoſe Titles, as one aſſuming Glory to himſelf.*

(*u*) *Is not this wiſely ſpoken?* Read Rom. 14. 4. 10.

it; (x) and being asked again whether he reproved them or not, anſwered, *If attributed to the Creature, then it is reprovable,* (y) *if they did it to the Lord, then I dare not reprove it*; and being asked, whether he thought not Chriſt (z) robbed of his Honour, by that Honour or Worſhip given unto him, anſwered, that he *looked upon it to be really to the true Honour of Chriſt, or elſe he would utterly have deny'd it*; and being asked whether he had at any Time whatſoever, reproved thoſe Perſons, he anſwered, *I never underſtood that they gave that Honour, but to God.*

Here we have thought to have concluded this Report, but the Committee meeting with ſome further Evidence, they were willing you ſhould be Partakers of it, and it is this; *John Baynam* Deputy to the Sergeant of the Houſe, to whoſe Cuſtody *Nailer* and his Company are committed, informeth that the uſual Poſture of *James Nailer* is ſitting in a Chair, and his Company both Men and Women do ſometimes kneel, and when they are weary of Kneeling, they ſit upon the Ground (a) before him, ſinging theſe and divers other Words to the like Purpoſe, *viz. Holy, Holy to the Almighty, to the true God, and great God, and Glory to the Almighty,* (b) &c. And thus they do uſually all the Day long; but the Informer never heard *Nailer* ſing as aforeſaid, and ſaith there is great Reſort to the ſaid *Nailer* by divers Perſons, who moſt

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(x) *Is this aſſuming?*

(y) *Or, is this aſſuming?*

(z) *Nay. They rob* Chriſt *of his Honour that would not have him where he is.*

(a) *They were found in the ſame Poſtures daily after* James Nailor *was removed from them.*

(b) *And is this further Evidence of* James Nailer's *Blaſphemy, that others ſing Praiſes to the true God, and Glory to the Almigh-*

moſt of them do kneel (c) before him in the manner aforeſaid. And *Martha Simmons* in the Poſture aforeſaid, ſung, *This is the joyful Day, behold the King of Righteouſneſs is come*; (d) and further, the Informer ſaith, that he never knew the ſaid *Nailer* ſhew any Diſlike, either by Reproof or otherwiſe of that Honour or Worſhip which *John Stranger* and his Wife, *Martha Simmons*, and *Dorcas Erbury* and the reſt gave him (e) as aforeſaid. And a Member of the Houſe being lately at the Place, where *Nailer* is now a Priſoner, informs the Committee, that he ſaw *Nailer* and his Company in the Poſture aforeſaid and heard *John Stranger*, and one of the Women ſing, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God*, (f) and *Holy, Holy to Thee, Thee, Lord God.* And whilſt *John Stranger* ſung theſe Words, he did ſometimes look upwards, (g) and ſometimes upon *James Nailer*. Another (h) Member informed us, as upon his own view to the ſame Purpoſe. And at *Nailer*'s laſt Examination before the Committee, being *Wedneſday* the third Inſtant, one *William Piggot* did inform, that *Nailer* ſitting in a Chair where he is now a Pri-

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(c) *How unfair is this to repreſent them Kneeling before him, when it was their daily Practice to kneel and praiſe God in* James Nailer's *Abſence?*

(d) *No doubt ſhe knew what ſhe ſung, and bleſſed are thoſe that can witneſs* the Son of Righteouſneſs come with healing under his Wings, *Mal.* 4 2.

(e) *How did they give it him, ſince he himſelf ſaith, that he never underſtood they did it to him as a Creature? And this In-*Informer *hath ſaid a little before that their Praiſes were directed to the great God, and to the Almighty?*

(f) *Are they not enrag'd, that others ſhould ſing Praiſes to the Lord God? Is this the further Evidence of* James Nailer's *Blaſphemy?*

(g) *Is looking upon* James Nailer *any further Evidence? It ſeems a ſmall thing thing will ſerve Turn for further Evidence.*

(h) *Ought his Accuſers to have been his Judges? It was not likely that ſuch could ſee his Innocency.*

priſoner, one *Sarah Blackbery* came to him, and took him by the Hand, and ſaid, *Riſe up my Love, my Dove, my fair one, and come away; why ſitteſt thou among the Pots?* And preſently put her Mouth upon his Hand, and ſunk down upon the Ground before him.

To which *Nailer* himſelf being examined by the Committee, confeſſed ſhe took him by the Hand and ſpoke the Words aforeſaid, but denies the putting her Mouth upon his Hand, and ſuch bowing down, but ſaith, that he ſate low, and that he was not free to go with her. And *Nailer* being asked to whom ſhe directed that Speech, anſwered, *To the Lord, and to him that raiſeth from the Duſt, and caſteth them down that are exalted.* And being asked whether he reproved her for that Expreſſion, he anſwered, he *reproved her not.* And further, *William Piggot* informed the Committee, that the laſt Week he was at the Place aforeſaid, where *Nailer* is now a Priſoner, and that one *Stranger* and *Martha Simmons* were with others ſitting upon their Heels before and about *Nailer*, and that *Stranger* roſe up, and ſtood and ſung juſt before *Nailer*, according to their uſual Manner of Singing; when and where a Man *Quaker* (being preſent) asked *Nailer*, Doſt thou own that Voice? *Nailer* anſwered, *Yea, I do.* And *Nailer* being asked by the Committee, if this were ſo, anſwered, *If I tell you the Truth, you will not believe me.* And *Nailer* being preſſed to anſwer whether he owned the Voice anſwered, *That Voice I will not deny.*

To ſum up all; the Committee asked *Nailer*, what he had more to ſay, (that being likely to be the laſt Time of hearing him before the Committee reported the whole Fact to the Houſe) he thus anſwered,

☞ *I do abhor that any of that Honour which is due to God, ſhould be given to me as I am a Creature; but it pleaſed the Lord to ſet me up as a Sign of the Coming of the Righteous One; and what hath been done in my paſſing thro' the Towns, I was commanded by the Power of the Lord to ſuffer ſuch Things to be done to the outward as a Sign; I abhor any Honour as a Creature.*

☞ *Take good Notice of his* Anſwers *from firſt to laſt, and ſee if in any of them there is the leaſt Blaſphemy, or any thing that is contrary to the Scriptures, and the Saints Practice.*

December 5.

The Report * concerning *James Nailer*, received and read in the Houſe this Day from the Committee.

Decem. 6.

THE Houſe this Day reſumed the Debate upon the Report (*a*) touching *James Nailer.*

Reſolved, That *James Nailer* be brought forthwith to the Bar, and that the Report of the Committee be read to him; and that it be then demanded

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* *The firſt Time the whole Houſe ſate about* James Nailer.
(*a*) *The ſecond Time the whole Houſe ſate about him.*

manded of him what he ſaith hereunto by Confeſſion or Denial. He was ſent for accordingly, and being brought to the Bar, was ſpoken to, to (*b*) kneel, which he did not; and keeping his Hat on, the Sergeant by Command of the Speaker took off his Hat. And being asked whether his Name were *James Nailer*, he anſwered, *He is ſo called.* Being asked, how long he hath been ſo called, he anſwered, *Ever ſince he can remember.*

The Report that the Committee had drawn up was read to him, and he was demanded to every Particular, whether that were his Anſwer to the Committee: To which he anſwered particularly, acknowledging them to be ſo, or to that Effect, and ſo withdrew.

Reſolved, That *James Nailer* be called in, to the Bar, and demanded ſeveral Queſtions. He was accordingly called in, and theſe (*c*) Queſtions demanded of him.

Reſolved, That the Houſe doth agree with the Committee, in the Report of the Matter touching *James Nailer.*

Reſolved, That this Debate be adjourned till *Monday* Morning and nothing to intervene.

Reſolved, That *James Nailer* be kept private.

Monday, Decem. 8.

The Houſe according to former Order (*d*) reſumed the Debate upon the Buſineſs of *James Nailer.*

(*b*) *Obſerve, they would have him to kneel to themſelves, tho' they account it Blaſphemy for others to kneel to God, wherever manifeſt.*

(*c*) *But what thoſe Queſtions were, is not known, for there is no Record kept of them.*

(*d*) *The Third Time the whole Houſe ſat about* James Nailer.

Reſolved, That this Debate be adjourned till Three of the Clock.

Reſolved, That Candles be brought in.

The Queſtion being propounded, (e) That *James Nailer* upon the whole Matter of Fact (f) is guilty of Blaſphemy; and the Queſtion being put, that the Word *Horrid* (g) be inſerted in the Queſtion next before the Word *Blaſphemy*, it paſſed in the Affirmative.

And the Queſtion being propounded, That *James Nailer*, upon the whole Matter in Fact, is guilty of Horrid Blaſphemy.

And the Queſtion being put, that the Queſtion be now put, it paſſed in the Affirmative (h).

And the main Queſtion being put, it was

Reſolved, That *James Nailer* upon the whole Matter of Fact, is guilty of horrid Blaſphemy.

Reſolved, That *James Nailer* is a grand Impoſtor, (i) and Seducer of the People.

Reſolved, That the Debate upon this Report touching *James Nailer* be adjourned till to morrow Morning.

Tueſday 9.

The Houſe according to former Order, did reſume (k) the Debate upon the Report touching *James Nailer*.

(e) *The fourth Time the whole Houſe ſate about* James Nailer.

(f) *What Fact has he committed, that makes him guilty of Blaſphemy?*

(g) *Or what horrid Thing hath he done, let wiſe Men diſcern.*

(h) *It is ſtrange ſuch a Vote ſhould paſs, and ſo little Ground for it.*

(i) *It would have been well had they ſhewn Cauſe why this was added.*

(k) *The Fifth Time the whole Houſe ſate about* James Nailer.

Reſolved, that the Debate be adjourned two Hours.

The Houſe adjourned till three of the Clock.

The Houſe (*l*) reſumed the Debate upon the Report touching *James Nailer*.

Reſolved, that this Debate touching *James Nailer* be adjourned till to Morrow Morning.

Wedneſday 10.

Reſolved, (*m*) That this Debate be adjourned till to Morrow Morning Eight of the Clock, and nothing to intervene.

Thurſday 11.

The Houſe reſolved, (*n*) *&c.*

The Queſtion being put, that the Houſe adjourn two Hours (*o*) the Houſe was divided.

Yeas went forth 84. Noes 87.

So it paſſed in the Negative.

Reſolved, That the Debate touching *James Nailer* be adjourned till to Morrow Morning, and nothing to intervene.

Friday 12.

The Houſe according to former Order reſumed (*p*) the Debate upon the Buſineſs of *James Nailer*.

Reſolved, That this Debate, *&c.* till to Morrow Morning, and nothing to intervene.

(*l*) *The Sixth Time the whole Houſe ſate about* James Nailer.

(*m*) *The Seventh Time the Houſe ſate about him.*

(*n*) *The Eighth Time the whole Houſe ſate about him.*

(*o*) *What could be the Reaſon they could be ſo long about ſuch a Buſineſs as this? Was there not a Lion in the Way?*

(*p*) *The Ninth Time the whole Houſe ſate about him.*

Saturday 15.

The Houſe this Day according to former Order aſſumed (q), &c.

The Queſtion being propounded, that the Debate touching *James Nailer* be adjourned till Monday Morning, and nothing to intervene, the Houſe was divided,

Noes went out 65
Yeas 108

So it was reſolved, that the Debate touching *James Nailer* ſhould be adjourned till *Monday* Morning Eight of the Clock, and nothing to intervene.

Monday 15.

The Houſe according to former Order aſſumed (r) the Debate about *James Nailer*, and adjourned till to Morrow Morning.

Tueſday 16.

The Houſe according to former Order (ſ) reſumed, &c.

The Queſtion being propounded, that the Puniſhment of *James Nailer* for his Crimes ſhall be Death, (t) and that a Bill be prepared and brought in for that Purpoſe; and the Queſtion being put that the Queſtion be now put, the Houſe was divided. (u)

The

(q) *The Tenth Time the whole Houſe aſſumed* James Nailer's *Buſineſs.*

(r) *The Eleventh Time the whole Houſe ſate about him.*

(ſ) *The Twelfth Time the whole Houſe ſate about him.*

(t) *Obſerve, how the Blood of this innocent Man is thirſted for, by a Party among them.*

(u) *However, they cannot have their Will.*

The Noes went forth 96
The Yeas 82
So it passed in the Negative.

The Question being put, that this be Part of the Punishment of *James Nailer*, to have his Hair cut off; (x) it passed in the Negative.

Resolved, that this be Part of the Punishment of *James Nailer*, that his Tongue be bored thro' with a Hot Iron.

That the further Punishment of *James Nailer* shall be, that he shall be stigmatized in the (y) Forehead with the Letter *B*.

The Question being propounded, that *James Nailer* be set on the Pillory (z) in the new Palace *Westminster*, the Space of two Hours, and then shall be (a) whipped by the Hangman thro' the Streets from *Westminster* to *Cheapside*, and there likewise be set upon the Pillory for the space of two Hours in each of the said Places, wearing a Paper containing an Inscription of his Crimes; (b) That his Tongue shall be bored thro' with a Hot Iron, and that he be stigmatized in the Forehead with the Letter *B*.

Resolved, that instead of the Word *Cheapside* in this Question, the (c) *Old Exchange* be inserted.

Resolved, that these Words be added in the Question, with his Head in (d) the Pillory.

Resolved, that the Place for boring his Tongue, and stigmatizing, be near the *Old Exchange*.

(x) *Did they imagine his Strength lay in his Hair?*

(y) *This was that the Scripture might be fulfilled*, Rev. 1. 7.

(z) *This was also that the Scriptures might be fulfilled*, Is. 42. 14.

(a) *This was also that the Scripture might be fulfilled*, Mar. 15. 17.

(b) *This was likewise done, that the Scripture might be fulfilled*, Mat. 27. 37.

(c) *Now call'd the* Royal Exchange.

(d) *Otherwise the Crown had not been about his Head.*

The Queſtion being propounded, that the Priſon he ſhall be committed to, be *Bridewell* in *Briſtol*; and the Queſtion being put, it paſſed in the Negative.

Reſolved, he be committed to Priſon, to *Bridewell, London.*

Reſolved, that inſtead of the Words, *From the Society of all Men*, theſe be inſerted, *from the Society of all People* (e).

Reſolved, that he have no Pen, Ink, or Paper.

Reſolved, That he ſhall have no Relief but what he earns by his daily Labour.

Wedneſday 17.

Reſolved, that *James Naller* be ſet on the Pillory, with his Head in the Pillory, in the Palace-yard, *Weſtminſter*, during the Space of Two Hours, on Thurſday (f) next, and ſhall be whipt by the Hangman thro' the Streets from *Weſtminſter* to the *Old Exchange, London*, and there likewiſe be ſet on the Pillory, with his Head in the Pillory, for the Space of two Hours, between the Hours of Eleven and One, on (g) Saturday next, in each Place wearing a Paper, containing an Inſcription of his Crimes; and that at the *Old Exchange*, his Tongue be bored through with a hot Iron, and that he be there alſo ſtigmadized in the Forehead with the Letter *B*, and that he be afterwards ſent to *Briſtol*, and be conveyed into and thro' the ſaid City on Horſeback bare-ridged, with his Face backward, and

(e) *Why? Whom hath he harmed? Was this the Way to pay him ſome Hundreds of Pounds ſtill in Arrears, and for his Nine Years faithful Service in the Army?*

(f) *They were long ere they could agree on their Sentence, but quick in the Execution, the next Day.*

(g) *But one Days Reſpite between ſuch cruel Sufferings. Their Sentence had been much more merciful had it been preſent Death.*

and there also publickly whipt the next Market-Day, after he comes thither, and that from thence he be committed to Prison in *Bridewell*, *London*, and there restrained from the Society of all People, (*b*) and there to labour hard till he shall be released by Parliament, and during that Time be debarred the Use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, (*i*) and shall have no Relief, but what he earns by his daily Labours.

Resolved, that the said *James Nailer* be brought to the Bar, to morrow by Ten of the Clock to receive this Judgment.

Resolved, that the Speaker be authorized to issue his Warrants to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, the Sheriff of *Bristoll* and Governour of *Bridewell*, to see this Judgment put in Execution respectively in the said Places.

Resolved, that the Speaker be authorized to make his Warrant to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, to convey the said *Nailer* to *Bristol*.

Resolved, That the Speaker do issue the like Warrant to the Sheriff of *Bristol*, to convey him up to *London*, after the Execution of this Judgment there.

Resolved, that to morrow after the Sentence is pronounced against *James Nailer*, the several Petitions now offered, be read.

Resolved, that then the House do likewise take into Consideration (*k*) the Persons brought up with *James Nailer*.

The House being informed that *James Nailer* was brought to the Door, according to the former Order made yesterday, that he should be brought to the Bar, to receive the Judgment, and the Re-

solution

(*b*) *A Devilish Sentence.*

(*i*) *It is to be doubted whether the Popish Cruelty in Queen Mary's Days, did exceed this.*

(*k*) *Several of the People called Quakers.*

ſolution made yeſterday touching the ſaid *James Nailer* for his Puniſhment.

Reſolved, that theſe Words be added to the ſaid Reſolution, *viz.* and the Parliament do declare and judge the ſame accordingly.

The Queſtion being propounded that *James Nailer* be had in, and before Judgment pronounced, he be demanded whether he have any thing to ſay, why Judgment ſhould not be pronounced (*l*) upon him, and the Queſtion being put, that the Queſtion be now put, the Houſe was divided.

The Noes went forth 107
The Yeas 87

So it paſs'd in the Negative.

The ſaid *James Nailer* was by Order of the Houſe brought in to the Bar, where the Speaker acquainted him with the Hainouſneſs of the Crime, of which the Parliament found him guilty, (*m*) and accordingly did pronounce the Judgment againſt him, and upon which he withdrew.

Reſolved, that the Petitions from the Counties, and the Buſineſs, about the Women which were apprehended with *James Nailer* be taken into Conſideration to morrow Morning, nothing to intervene.

December 18. (The Day *James Nailer* firſt ſuffered.)

Was ſeveral Petitions preſented to the Houſe, containing Complaints againſt the Growth and Exorbitances of the People called *Quakers*; were this Day read one from the County of *Devon*, and of *Exeter*.

(*l*) *This would have been juſt and Legal, but it was likely he would then have clear'd his Innocency.*

(*m*) *Of what Crime? No Crime has been proved as yet, tho' this was the 13th Time the whole Houſe ſate about him.*

One other from the Miniſters (*n*) in the County of *Northumberland*, *Durham*, and *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*.

One other from the Juſtices of Peace, Gentry, Miniſters of the Goſpel, (*o*) and others within the County Palatine of *Cheſter*, and the Atteſtation of the ſame Petition by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Miniſters of the City of *Cheſter*.

Another from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Miniſters of the City of *Cheſter*.

Another from the Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *Briſtol*, and the Miniſters of the Goſpel there, and other chief Inhabitants there.

And alſo the humble Petition of divers well-affected Perſons, Gentlemen, Miniſters and others in the County of *Cornwall*, which were all referred to a Committee to conſider of them, and to collect ſuch Heads as may be fitteſt for a Bill for ſuppreſſing of the Miſchiefs, and Inconveniences complained of therein.

The Houſe likewiſe referred to a Committee, the Facts and Crimes of the reſt of the Perſons, apprehended with *James Nailer*, to ſtate the Matter of Fact and report it.

(*n*) *Such Miniſters as preach for Mammon and perſecute, and will not give Liberty of Conſcience to ſerve the Lord as he requires.*

(*o*) *Thoſe Rulers, Gentry, and Miniſters muſt be ſuch we read of,* Mark 14. 55. *&c. and* Luke 19. 47, 48.

Memoirs relating to the Sufferings of James Nailer, *&c.*

Thurſday 18.

THIS Day *James Nailer* ſuffered Part of the Sentence, by ſtanding full two Hours with his Head in the Pillory in the Palace-yard, *Weſtminſter*, and from thence was whipp'd to the *Old-Exchange*, and received 310 Stripes as the Hangman told the Sheriff, and was to have had one more, (for there were 311 Kennels,) but his Foot ſlipping, it fell on his own Hand, and cut him much.

What elſe remarkable this Day, was, that (one *Robert Rich*, an eminent Merchant, who for ſeveral Days before had attended the Parliament with Letters, Petitions and Papers, on the Behalf of *James Nailer*, as to the clearing of his Innocency) this Morning he ſtood at the Parliament-Door, crying to the Members, as they paſt in; To ſome, after this Manner, *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Shem, Canaan ſhall be his Servant*; and to others he ſaid, *Curſed be Canaan, a Servant of Servants ſhall he be*; and likewiſe crying to ſeveral of them who pretended to be Friends to Innocency and Juſtice, *Why is thy Countenance fallen, hadſt thou done well, wouldſt thou not been accepted? But now Sin lies at thy Door*; and cried, *the Lord is coming to ſeparate between the Sheep and the Goats, to gather his Wheat into Garners, and to burn up the Chaff with Fire that is not to be quenched.* Theſe Words paſt with ſuch a Power (mix'd ſometime with Singing) that none reſiſted or gainſaid. Between ten and Eleven of the Clock, he went from the Parliament-Door down Stairs into the great Hall, (ſinging very loud) and ſeeing the Commiſſioners

miſſioners of the Great Seal ſitting there Judges in the Court of Chancery, ſtood ſtill over againſt them, and cried, *The Land mourns becauſe of Oppreſſion, and for Want of Juſtice and true Judgment, the Land mourns.* And from thence he went with a great Multitude following of him, into the Palace-yard round the Pillory, ſinging; and this was ſomewhat ſtrange, that altho' there were great Multitudes of People round about him, yet none did him any Harm, but made Room for him to go which Way he would; till at length his Brother, (a Counſellor) who was at the Bar with the reſt of the Lawyers, took Counſel, and gave large Sums of Money to Soldiers, to take him by Force, and put him into a Coach, which they accordingly did, and ſo carried him away, (for it ſeem'd, the Lawyers were ſo ſtruck that they could not go on in their Pleadings) and the Soldiers were ordered for to watch him ſtrictly, that he got not forth, ſo they carried him to the *Bull and Mouth* near *Alderſgate*; but their Watchmen being blind, he paſſed by them, and went again to the Parliament-Door, and from thence thro' the Hall into Palace-yard to the Pillory ſinging aloud, and none of the Multitude was ſuffered to do him any Harm. At length the Second Time he was taken by Force, and carried away Priſoner, as was ſaid, by Means of his Brother.

Saturday, 20.

This Day *James Nailer* was to have ſuffered the Second Part of the Sentence, but that the Lord wrought in many honourable Perſons (both Citizens and others) a noble Principle of Tenderneſs, who preſented a Petition to the Houſe on his Behalf, ſo the Houſe did order that the further Puniſhment of *James Nailer* (which ſhould have been on this Day) ſhall be ſuſpended till this Day Sevennight.

Wedneſday 24.

This Day Five Presbyterian or Independent Parſons came to *Newgate*, to *James Nailer*, whoſe Names were *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nie*, *Griffith* and *Reynolds*, and it was ſaid, they did it by Order from the Parliament; but they did not deal with him faithfully, or as Miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus, for they would not permit either Friend or other to be preſent in the Room that might bear Witneſs of their Diſcourſe; and likewiſe, when they had promiſed him to write down both their Queſtions, and his Anſwers, and to leave with him a Copy of the ſame, which after they had written, they took and burnt, and performed not their Promiſe with him.

Saturday 27.

This Day *James Nailer* received a Second Part of the Sentence of Parliament, before the *Old Exchange*, where he ſtood full two Hours with his Head in the Pillory, after which he was bored thro' the Tongue with an Hot Iron, and burnt on the Forehead with Letter *B*.

What was remarkable, was, that *Robert Rich*, a Merchant being at the Parliament-Door and thereabout this Morning, from Eight of the Clock till about Eleven, crying to the Parliament-Men as they paſſed by; to one, where he ſaw Innocency, ſaid, *He that dwelleth in Love dwelleth with God, for God is Love.* And to another, where he ſaw Envy reign, *He that hateth his Brother is a Manſlayer*, and *he that hates his Brother is a Murtherer*; and ſeveral other the like Speeches, dividing the good from the Bad. And altho' it was then thought that *James Nailer* would not have ſuffered any further Puniſhment, by reaſon that there were many honourable Perſons then attending the Parliament, and

and *Protector* on Behalf of the ſaid *James Nailer*; and likewiſe the Protector had ſent to the Parliament a Letter, *&c.* yet the ſaid *Rich* then told the People, that the Innocent was going to ſuffer; and crying to the Parliament, that *he was clear from the Blood of all Men*, and deſiring them to be ſo too, departed, and came before the *Exchange*, where, with *James Nailer*, he went on the Pillory where he ſtood, and ſate by him, with two other Women that ſate on each Side by him, till after a good Space, *Robert Rich* took a Paper out of his Pocket, and placed over his Head, whereon was written,

It is written, *Luke* 23. 38. *This is the King of the Jews.*

But preſently an Officer ſtept up, and pull'd it down, and turn'd *Robert Rich* and the two Women off the Pillory; but after a while they lifted up *Robert Rich* again on the Pillory, where he ſtaid till *James Nailer* had undergone his Sufferings for that Time, and held him by the Hand whilſt he was burning, and afterwards licked and ſuck'd the Fire out of his Tongue, and led him by the Hand from off the Pillory.

This was alſo very remarkable, that notwithſtanding there might be many Thouſands of People, yet they were very quiet, few heard to revile him, or ſeen to throw any one thing at him; and when he was a burning, all the People both before him and behind him, and on both Sides of him, with one Conſent ſtood bare-headed. This was done, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, *Mar.* 15. 38.

A Brief Account of the Grounds of the Petitioners that appeared for James Nailer.

With the Copies of their Petitions, for Satisfaction of all moderate Spirits.

GOD who worketh all things, according to the Council of his own Will, is oft-times pleased to make Use of Extremities, and by them to point out unto his People their Duty. Thus did he order, that the encreased Tyrannies and Oppressions of *Israel* in the Land of *Egypt*, should press forth their Cries and Tears unto the Lord, that he might thence take his Rise to appear for them: So in the Days of the Bishops of late Years, the Trials and Sufferings of the People of God, have come to some Head and Ripeness, before He hath been provoked to deliver them, as we might instance both in *Scotland*, and our own Nation. Even so fareth it with the poor People of God at this Day, who having been for some Time asleep and in a pleasing Dream, as if the Storms were over, and the Winter were past and gone, are awakened by a fresh Alarm, to consider and behold the same Spirit of Persecution and Blood, revived again in the Bosom of that Worldly Peace and Glory, wherein we have delighted to stand forth in the Image of the Nations. How much better and safer had it been for us, to have stood by the Lord in his founding of *Zion*, waiting for his Counsel (who stood by us in our destroying the grosser *Babylon*) and to have been of the poor of his People that trust in it, and not of those that exercise Dominion over it. There is a poor contemptible People whom

whom God hath pleaſed to call forth out of all the Sects and Diviſions in this Nation, both Profeſſors and Non-profeſſors, whoſe Principles and Ways have been fitted and prepared to give Check, (or confront at leaſt,) to that Spirit of Lordlineſs and Formality, that after the throwing down of the old Fabrick of a painted and pompous Church and State, was but too apt to ſpring up again among us; which is the beſt Account we can at preſent give, why God ſhould ſuffer ſo many upright Souls, to be ſnatch'd from their former Communion and walking, into ſo exaſperating a Way. There was ſomething of the Meaſure of the Sufferings of Chriſt yet behind; and of the Spirit of Antichriſt yet to be vented and acted upon our *Engliſh* Theatre. And truly, not without ſome Regret in our ſelves, have we heard and obſerved the long and oft repeated Sufferings of that poor People, who have been whipt and impriſoned in many Parts of this Nation, thruſt into Holes and Dungeons, where they have ſcarce had the Liberty to breathe; and all this for nothing as far as we underſtand, but what peaceable People may do without any Diſturbance to the Civil Peace and Quiet of the Nation. We hope what we have writ is clear, and we may eaſily be underſtood herein, not to approve their Scheme of Doctrine, as abſolutely clear and Evangelical; but who knows what Sufferings may do, to the purifying and refining thereof? But thus have we ſtood gazing upon them, not pleading their Cauſe, becauſe diſguſting ſome of their Principles, till the Wiſdom of God ſaw good, to give us a freſh and louder Alarm, (not in our Ears only, but before our Eyes) in the bitter Uſage of *James Nailer*, one of the very Chief of that People, tho' now diſowned by the Generality of them, whoſe Caſe therefore is the more reſpected by us.) So that we could no longer, as Perſons unconcern'd keep Silence, but we muſt appear for him

him in a Petition to the Parliament. And this we could not refuſe, unleſs we would renounce that Love, that Light, that Cauſe, and thoſe Principles, we have all along for ſome Years profeſſed and avowed.

But how low and tender theſe firſt Buddings of our Charity were, the Petitions themſelves will ſhew, which yet were as high as we could well go, or the Parliament bear. And we were not ſo modeſt, but ſome thought us too bold and daring to appear in ſuch a Cauſe, for ſuch a Perſon ſo obnoxious in their Account; for which we could offer many, and thoſe very great Conſiderations.

As *Firſt* and principally, the Honour of that Cauſe, for which we have ſuffered the Loſs of a Thouſand other Things, we mean *Conſcience-Liberty*, which we conceive to ſtand in nothing more, than in theſe two Points (or indeed we may ſay, bears it ſelf up on them as two main Pillars) *viz.* Firſt, *That the Civil Magiſtrate is not the proper Judge of Error or Blaſphemy.* And Secondly, *That Corporal Puniſhment is not a proper Puniſhment for Offences of a Spiritual Nature, tho' it was uſed to the* Jews *for divers ſpecial Reaſons, peculiar to that Legal Diſpenſation only.*

Secondly, The Safety of the Government which is in Danger of Wrath from the Almighty, for nothing ſo much, or ſo ſoon, as for invading the Spiritual Juriſdiction of our Lord Jeſus.

Thirdly, The Conſequence to our ſelves, who by this Rule may be pull'd out, and judged without a Law; yea judged and ſentenced in the higheſt Condemnation as *Blaſphemers*, for which the preſent Temper of the Civil Magiſtrate ſhall cenſure to be *Blaſphemy.*

Theſe with other Reaſons, were in our Eye, which we ſhall not inſiſt upon, but deſire it may ſatisfie others,

others, that we are exceeding well ſatisfied our ſelves in bearing our Teſtimony. We cannot, we dare not cry *Blaſphemy*, with all that do ſo; we dare not throw Men out of Heaven, and out of our Hearts, (out of all Love and Pity there) ſo faſt as ſome can. It is a dark and diſguiſing Time, and ſcarce any one wears his own Cloaths. Temptations are abroad, and there is not a Spirit to judge and diſcern them aright. They many Times are accounted Orthodox, who have leaſt Right to it. Old *Jacob* muſt croſs his Hands again; but this is the Snare in which God will take the World. And look to it, *the worſt of Blaſphemies is to make Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and have no Love.*

The Series of our Petitions, and Addreſſes in the Behalf of the ſaid *James Nailer*, hereafter followeth.

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland.*

The Humble Petition of the Perſons whoſe Names are under-written.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT we are credibly informed, (from thoſe Eyes that have ſeen it, that *James Nailer* is in a very ill and dangerous Condition of Body, not fit to undergo that Part of your Sentence he is adjudged unto, this Day; and were deſired to acquaint this Honourable Houſe ſo much, and to beg the

Reſpit of a Week, or ſome ſmall Time as to your Wiſdom and Goodneſs ſhall ſeem meet; That he may recover a little Strength before he be called forth again: Which Office of Charity we could not refuſe, tho' we are not Partakers with him, nor Abettors of him in any thing that hath occaſioned this Sentence.

Therefore, ſince we believe, it is not your Intent to deſtroy that Life, which you ſpared in your Sentence, we humbly pray an Order of Reprieve, may be granted for a few Days; and it will be accepted as an Act of your Chriſtian Moderation and Clemency.

And we ſhall pray, *&c.*

Joſhua Sprigge, T. Z.
Jer. White, C. H.

The Subſtance of the foreſaid Petition was certified to the Subſcribers by divers credible Perſons; and it may further appear by a Certificate from the Woman that firſt waſhed his Stripes; a Copy whereof is hereunto annex'd.

The Teſtimony of Rebecca Travers, *who waſhed* James Nailer's *Stripes, after he was whipt, as followeth.*

TO my beſt diſcerning there was not a Space bigger than the Breadth of a Man's Nail free from Stripes and Blood, from his Shoulders near his Waſte; and his right Arm was ſorely Stri-

Striped. His Hands alſo were ſorely hurt with the Cords, that they bled, and were ſwell'd.

The Blood and Wounds of his Back did very little appear at firſt Sight, by reaſon of the Abundance of Dirt that covered them, till it was waſhed off.

This I ſaw coming to him above an Hour after his Whipping, in all which Time none had been with him, or ſent to him to look after his Wounds.

Rebecca Travers.

And others ſaw that he was much abuſed with Horſes treading on him, for the Print of the Nails were ſeen on his Feet.

Upon reading the aforeſaid Petition, the Parliament reſpited the further Execution of their Sentence upon *James Nailer* for one Week, as by their Order may appear, which was *Saturday Decem.* 20.

Ordered,

THAT the further Puniſhment of *James Nailer* which ſhould have been on this Day, ſhall be ſuſpended till this Day Sevennight, and be executed on him then; and that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* do obſerve this Order accordingly.

During which Interval, ſeveral peaceable and well-affected Perſons, being ſadly ſenſible of the Conſequence of ſuch Proceedings, did addreſs themſelves by Petition to the Parliament, for the remitting the remaining Part of the ſaid *James Nailer*'s Puniſhment; a Copy whereof is as follows;

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, &c.

The Humble Petition of divers peaceable and well-affected Perſons in the Cities of London *and* Weſtminſter, *in Behalf of themſelves and many others;*

Sheweth,

THAT your Moderation and Clemency in reſpiting the Puniſhment of *James Nailer*, in Conſideration of his Ilneſs of Body, hath refreſhed the Hearts of many Thouſands in theſe Cities, altogether unconcerned in his Practice; and hath opened their Eyes to ſee ſomething more than the Terrors of Mount *Sinai*, to dwell upon your Honourable Houſe; and hath likewiſe given them ſome Hopes to ſee you come forth in the Spirit of our Lord Jeſus, yet more and more, to the Convincement of thoſe that err, and are out of the Way.

Wherefore we moſt humbly beg your Pardon, that are conſtrained to appear before you in ſuch a Suit, (not daring to do otherwiſe) that you would remit the remaining Part of your Sentence againſt the ſaid James Nailer, *leaving him to the Lord, and to ſuch Goſpel-Remedies as he hath ſanctified: And we are perſwaded you will find ſuch a Courſe of Love and Forbearance more effectual to reclaim, and will have a Seal of your Love and Tenderneſs upon our Spirits.*

And we ſhall pray, &c.

This

This Petition being preſented at the Bar of the Houſe by about One Hundred eminent Perſons in Behalf of the whole, was accordingly read and debated by them; but being not likely to produce the deſired Effect, the Petitioners thought themſelves bound in Duty and Conſcience to make the following Addreſs to the *Lord Protector* alſo.

To his Highneſs *Oliver*, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

The Humble Petition of &c.

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners having out of Tenderneſs to the good Cauſe of our Spiritual and Civil Liberties, concerned in ſome late Proceedings of the Houſe of Parliament, and to the Good of theſe Nations and the Government thereof, appeared in a Petition to the Parliament (a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed) for the remitting the remaining Puniſhment of *James Nailer*, which Petition is received into the Houſe, and reſteth there; We humbly conceive it our Duty alſo, in Conſideration of the Joint Intereſt which your Highneſs with the Parliament, hath, by the Inſtrument of Government, in the Legiſlative Power, to make our humble Addreſs and Requeſt to your Highneſs,

That you will be pleaſed according to all former Declarations, and the Experience we had of your Highneſs's Care of this tender Intereſt of Liberty of Conſcience, to weigh the Conſequence of theſe La-

Pe-

Proceedings. And according to the 37th Article of the Inſtrument aforeſaid, and one of the Grounds you declare upon in the War with Spain, *your Highneſs will ſtand up for the poor People of God in this Day, wherein your Highneſs will not do more Right to your Petitioners, than to your ſelf and theſe Nations.*

And we ſhall pray, *&c.*

The Product of which Addreſs was only ſending the following Letter, by his Highneſs, to the Parliament.

Oliver P.

RIGHT Truſty and Right Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken Notice of a Judgment lately given one *James Nailer*, altho' We deteſt and abhor the giving or occaſioning the leaſt Countenance to Perſons of ſuch Opinions or Practices, or who are under the Guilt of ſuch Crimes as are commonly imputed to the ſaid Perſon; Yet we being intereſſed in the preſent Government on Behalf of the People of theſe Nations, and not knowing how far ſuch a Proceeding (wholly without us) may extend in the Conſequence of it. We deſire that the Houſe will let us know the Grounds and Reaſons whereupon they have proceeded. Given at *White-hall* the 25th Day of *Decem.* 1656.

To our Right Truſty and Right well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, *Speaker.*

Which Letter occaſioning ſome Debate in the ouſe, and the Day for the Execution of the reaining Part of the Sentence drawing near, the etitioners made a Second Addreſs to his Highſs, in manner following.

To

To his Highneſs, &c.

The Humble Petition, &c

Sheweth,

THAT with great Thankfulneſs we acknowledge your Highneſs's Love to the Cauſe and People of God and their Liberties, and particularly your appearing at their Requeſt by your Letter to the Parliament on their and the Nation's Behalf, as they ſeem to be concerned in the Proceedings againſt *James Nailer*; And we deſire we may not forget, nor be unmindful to bleſs God that hath raiſed up your Highneſs a Bulwark between us and Oppreſſion and Perſecution. And hath given you to be faithful on all Occaſions when we have applied our ſelves unto you; that expecting the Fruit of your Highneſs's Letter to the Parliament, to our Grief we find nothing is done, nor like to be done timely, but the Execution of the remaining Part of the Sentence will take Place, unleſs prevented by your Highneſs.

Wherefore your Petitioners are conſtrained again to make their humble Addreſs to Your HIGHNESS, *that in Regard the Buſineſs will admit of no longer Delay; Your Highneſs will be pleaſed, in Purſuance of that Claim you may juſtly make to a Joint-Intereſt and Concern in ſuch Proceedings, to take ſuch Courſe, that the intended Execution to morrow, may be prevented,*

And Your Petitioners ſhall as in Duty bound, pray, &c.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all which, the Sentence of Parliament took Place, and was executed the Day following upon *James Nailer*.

It is very remarkable, that theſe great Sufferings have hitherto been endured by him with much Patience and Meekneſs; *as a Lamb led to the Slaughter, he opened not his Mouth.* He never murmured at the heavy Sentence pronounced againſt him; nor complained againſt his Adverſaries, nor of the Severity of his Sufferings; but endured them with ſo much Patience and Quietneſs of Spirit, as that it hath aſtoniſhed the Minds of many who were Eye-witneſſes thereof.

When he was before the Houſe, and they asked him concerning Particulars of his Examination before the Committee, which were paſſed out of his Mind, He with great Innocency and Simplicity of Heart, referred himſelf to his Examiners, ſaying, He *thought they would not do him wrong*; tho' divers of the Houſe were both his Accuſers and Judges.

When they were about to pronounce the Sentence, He ſaid, *He did not know his Offence*; the Speaker amongſt many others, gave forth theſe Words, That he ſhould know his Offence by his Puniſhment.

And when his Sentence was pronounced againſt him, he ſhewed not the leaſt Diſlike; but being denied to have Liberty to ſpeak, as he paſſed away, he uttered theſe Words with Meekneſs, *He that hath prepared the Body, will enable me to ſuffer; and I pray, that He may not lay it to your Charge.*

The

The Relation of W. H. *touching the Five Miniſters that were with* James Nailer, *a little before his laſt Suffering on the Pillory.*

Wedneſday the 24th of *Dec.* 1656. my ſelf, with others being at the Priſon with *James Nailer*, and underſtanding that divers Miniſters were come thither by Order of Parliament to confer with him, touching thoſe Things for which he was there detained: And being deſirous to know the Truth of what is reported concerning thoſe Blaſphemies of which he is accuſed, and for which he ſuffers, as alſo the Frame and Temper of his Spirit under ſuch great Sufferings, I deſired to be preſent at the ſaid Conference. But being deny'd that Liberty by the Keeper, who told us, he was appointed by the Miniſters, to let none be preſent whilſt they were with him, one of us addreſs'd to the Miniſters themſelves, who alſo denied us, or ſo much as one of us, to be preſent. So we could not be admitted; but were turned forth. And my ſelf having Buſineſs in the City, went about the ſame. And about Eight of the Clock the ſame Night, going thro' *Newgate-Market*, I met thoſe Miniſters in the Street; and judging they came then from *James Nailer*, I went directly to the Priſon to know the Iſſue of their Meeting; and asking him concerning it (ſo near as I can remember) he told me, as followeth, *viz.*

That he told thoſe Miniſters, he ſaw they had an Intent to make him ſuffer (tho' innocent) as an evil Doer; and therefore denied any to be preſent that might be indifferent Judges betwixt them and him, (or Words to that Purpoſe,) and therefore he ſhould not ſay any thing, unleſs what paſs'd, might be wrote down, and a Copy thereof given him to keep, or left with the Goaler, ſigned by

them. Which (he ſaid) was, after ſome Words, aſſented unto. And ſo they propounded ſeveral Queſtions unto him, and took his Anſwers in Writing.

And I asking him if he could remember any of the Queſtions propounded to him, he told me as followeth, *viz.*

That they asked him, If he was ſorry for thoſe Blaſphemies that he was guilty of; and whether he did recant, and renounce the ſame? To which he anſwered, *What Blaſphemies? Name them.* But they not able to inſtance in any Particular, he replied, *Would you have me recant, and renounce you know not what?*

They asked him, Whether he did believe there was a Jeſus Chriſt? To which he anſwered, *He did believe there was; for he had taſted of him; and that Jeſus had taken up his Dwelling in his Heart and Spirit; and, for the Teſtimony of him, he now ſuffered.* One of them reply'd, *But I believe in a Jeſus that never was in any Mans Heart.* To which *James* anſwered, *He knew no ſuch Chriſt; for the Chriſt he witneſſed, fills Heaven and Earth, and dwells in the Hearts of Believers.*

Again, they demanded of him why he ſuffered thoſe Women, *&c.* to worſhip and adore him. To which he reply'd, *Bowing to the Creature, I deny: But if they behold the Power of Chriſt wheresever it is, and bow to it, he had nothing by which he might reſiſt that, or gainſay it.* And withal ſaid to the Miniſters, *Have you thus long profeſſed the Scriptures, and do you now ſtumble at what they hold forth?* Whereupon they deſired one Inſtance of Scripture, wherein ſuch a Practice was held forth. To which he anſwered, *What think you of the* Shunamite, *in falling down at the Feet of Eliſha, and bowing before him? Whether was the Prophet guilty of Blaſphemy, in not reproving her when ſhe did ſo?* 2 Kings 4. 27, 37. as alſo divers others in Scripture ſpoken of? Upon which, they pauſing for a while, anſwered, *That was but a Civil Act or*

Ac-

Acknowledgment. So, said he, *might you interpret theirs also, if your Eye were not evil, seeing the outward Action is one and the same.*

But after a while, he seeing them not contented with plain Answers, but seeking to wrest Words out of him to their own Purpose, in Meekness uttered these Words, *How soon have you forgot the Work of the Bishops, who are now found in the same, seeking to insnare the Innocent?* Whereupon they rose up, and with Bitterness of Spirit burnt all that they had before written; and so left him with some bemoaning Expressions, rather discovering a prejudic'd Spirit, than real Affection to the Good of his Soul.

So when they were departing, he desired of them, (as he had also done before) That *the Parliament would send him such Questions in Writing, as they desired Satisfaction in; and give him Leave to return his Answers in Writing also.*

These (as near as I can remember) he told me, with some other Passages, which I do not well remember. And hoping the whole Passages of that Meeting will be publish'd by the Parties themselves, upon Consideration of what is before-mentioned, I humbly premise these Queries following, touching the Case of the said *Nail.r.*

1. Whether rationally those Men in that their Proceeding, can be adjudged Lovers of his Soul; or that Act tending to the Good thereof; or not rather wholly prejudiced, and intending to lay Snares before him?

2. Whether any Nation afford the like President, that Four or Five Persons (a Man's Enemies) should be his Examiners, and solely impower'd to report his Case to his Judges, not admitting any to be present but themselves, as indifferent Witnesses betwixt them? If Four of Five of those Silver-smiths,

made Shrines for *Diana*, whose Gain *Paul*'s Doctrine destroyed, If they had been sent to *Paul* to examine him, and report his Case to his Judges; how unequal a thing would this be accounted?

3. Whether the verbal Report of those Persons (or if written, it being done after they departed from him) ought to be received or credited as a true Testimony; when they have burnt their Examinations, and his Answers written while they were together, not admitting them to be seen as they were first stated?

4. Whether it were not a very reasonable Desire of *James Nailer*'s (as the Case stood) that Questions might be sent him in Writing from the Parliament, and he might have Liberty to return his Answers in Writing; for the avoiding of Misinterpretation of his Adversaries.

A further Account of the Burning of James Nailer, *by a different Person.*

ON *Saturday Decemb.* 27. about 11. of the Clock *James Nailer* was carried in a Coach from Newgate, to the *Black-Boy* near the *Royal-Exchange, London*; in which House he continued till the Clock had struck Twelve at Noon, when by divers on Foot with Halberts, he was guarded to the Pillory, where when he came, they presently put his Head into the same, and having pinned it down, came up *Martha Symmonds*, and with her two others, who was said to be *Hannah Stranger* and *Dorcas Erbury*; the first seated her self just behind on the right Side, the two latter before him, and *Robert Rich* likewise accompanied him with comfortable Words, Kissings and Stroaking on his Face. He having stood till Two, the Executioner took

took him out, and having bound his Arms with Cords to the Pillory, and having put a Cap over his Eyes, he bad him put forth his Tongue, which he freely did; and the Executioner with a red hot Iron, about the Bigneſs of a Quill, bored the ſame, and by Order from the Sheriff, held it in a ſmall Space, to the End the Beholders might ſee and bear witneſs that the Sentence was thoroughly executed; then having took it out, and pulling the Cap off that cover'd his Face, he put a Handkerchief over his Eyes, and putting his Left Hand to the back Part of his Head, and taking the Red-Hot Iron Letter in his other Hand, put it to his Forehead, till it ſmoak'd, all which Time *James* never ſo much as winc'd, but bore it with aſtoniſhing and Heart-melting Patience. Being unbound, he took the Executioner in his Arms, embracing and hugging him, after which *Robert Rich* thro' his ardent Love, licked the Wound on his Forehead. And *James* was conveyed to the *Black-Boy*, and from thence to Newgate.

Memoirs of James Nailer's *Sufferings at* Briſtol.

January 16.

THIS Day he was ſent by the Sheriffs of *London* to *Briſtol*; and the Sheriffs of *Briſtol* before that, had a Warrant under the Speaker's Hand to ſee the Sentence executed, as far as they were concerned therein.

January 17.

This Day *James Nailer* took Horſe at *Lawford-Gate*, and rode on the Horſe bare ridged with his Face to the Tail, thro' the City without *Redcliffe-Gate*,

Gate, and there alighted, and was brought to the middle of *Thomas-ſtreet*, and there ſtript, and then ty'd to the Horſe to be whipt from thence back again to the middle of *Broadſtreet*.

Before his Whipping, the following Order was ſent to the Keeper of *Newgate*.

Cauſe Naylor *to ride in at* Lawford's-Gate, *from thence along* Wine-ſtreet *to the* Tolſey, *thence down* High-ſtreet *over the Bridge, and ſo out at* Redcliff-Gate, *there let him alight and bring him into* Thomas-ſtreet, *and cauſe him to be ſtript, and there made faſt to the Cart-Horſe, and in the Market firſt whipped, from thence to the Foot of the Bridge there whipt, thence to the End of the Bridge, there whipt, thence to the middle of* High-ſtreet, *there whipt, thence to the* Tolſey, *there whipt, thence to the middle of* Broadſtreet, *there whipt, and then tane into the* Taylor's-Hall, *there releaſe him from the Cart-Horſe, and let him put on his Clothes, and carry him thence to* Newgate, *by* Tower-Lane, *the back Way.*

And whereas of Cuſtom the *Bellman* goes before and makes Proclamation of the Offence of the Offender, yet here the Keeper commanded the Bellman to the contrary, (as was ſaid) and ſuffer'd one *Jones* to hold back the *Beadles* Arm when ſtriking, and in all the Way the *Bell* rang but ſix Times;

All the while he paſs'd along, his dear and worthy Friend, *Robert Rich* rode bare-headed before him, ſinging, *Holy Holy, &c.* and had boldly on his Behalf, ſent the following Letter to the Speaker when in the Houſe, *Dec.* 15.

IF I may have Liberty, I do here at the Door attend, and am ready out of the Scriptures of Truth to ſhew, that not any thing James Nailer *hath ſaid or done, is Blaſphemy or worthy of Death or Bonds.*

After

After which, the Sheriffs of *Briſtol* ſent him up to the Governors of *Bridewell*, *London*, who before had received Order from the Speaker, as to that Part of the Sentence wherein they were concerned, where he continu'd till the wiſe Providence of God releas'd him.

A Letter from *James Nailer*, by which the bleſſed State of his Soul, is repreſented.

THERE is a Spirit that I feel, that delights to do no Evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all Things, in Hope to enjoy its own in the End: Its Hope is to outlive all Wrath and Contention, and to weary out all Exaltation and Cruelty, or whatſoever is of Nature contrary to it ſelf. It ſees to the End of all Temptations. As it bears no Evil in it ſelf, ſo it conceives none in Thoughts to any other; for its Ground and Spring is the Mercies and Forgiveneſs of God. Its Crown is Meekneſs, its Life is Everlaſting Love unfeigned, and takes its Kingdom with Intreaty, and not with Contention, and keeps it in Lowlineſs of Mind. In God alone it can rejoice, tho' none elſe regard it, or can own its Life. Its conceiv'd in Sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at Grief and Oppreſſion; it never rejoyceth but thro' Sufferings, for with the World's Joy it is murthered: I found it alone, being forſaken; I have Fellowſhip therein with them that lived in Dens and deſolate Places in the Earth, who thro' Death obtained this Reſurrection and Eternal Holy Life. Thou waſt with me when I fled from the Face of mine Enemies, then didſt thou warn me in the Night. Thou carriedſt me in thy Power, into the Hiding Place thou hadſt prepared for me; there thou

coveredſt me with thine Hand, that in thy Time thou mighteſt bring me forth a Rock before all the World. When I was weak, thou ſtayedſt me with thine Hand, that in thy Time thou mighteſt preſent me to the World in thy Strength, in which I ſtand, and cannot be moved. Praiſe the Lord, O my Soul. Let this be written for thoſe that come after: Praiſe the Lord.

JAMES NAILER.

A Pſalm of JAMES, *the Servant of* JESUS, *or a Song of Praiſe which he ſung in the Day of his Deliverance, declaring the Wonders of the moſt High, which He wrought in the Day of the deep Trial of his innocent Lamb; even how the Lord was with him when he was beſet with Darkneſs, and aſſaulted with ſtrong Temptation; and how he brought him thro' the Fire, and thro' the Sea, and under the Mountains and Hills, and ſlew his Enemy which had Dominion over him; and ſo brought him to know himſelf, and then exalted him over Death, and delivered him out of the Pit in the Sight of his Enemies; and brought him to the pleaſant Valleys and Springs again, and cauſed his Glory to deſcend upon him, in which he met the Flock of his Father, in whoſe Love he became joyned and knit unto them that had forſook, or ſtood at a Diſtance from him. Alſo many other weighty Sentences; all which are ſet forth, that the Wonder of the Lord may be ſeen, and that Fleſh may not boaſt nor glory in the Time of Proſperity, tho' much of God may be opened and known, and that the tender-hearted may not deſpair in the Times of deepeſt Sufferings, Temptations and Trials; but patiently wait on him who worketh all things in his People, according to the Counſel of his own Will, that He over all, and in all Things may be glorified, whoſe Right alone it is: So be it; Allelujah.*

It

IT is in my Heart to praiſe thee, O my God; let me never forget thee, what thou haſt been to me.

In the Night by thy Preſence, in the Day of Trial when I was beſet in Darkneſs, when I was caſt out as a wandring Bird, and when I was aſſaulted with ſtrong Temptations, then thy Preſence in ſecret did preſerve me, and in a low Eſtate I felt thee near me.

When the *Floods* ſought to ſweep me away, thou ſetteſt a Compaſs for them, how far they ſhould paſs over;

When my Way was thro' the Sea, and when I paſſed under the Mountains, there wert thou preſent with me.

When the Weight of the Hills was upon me, thou upheldſt me, elſe had I ſunk under the Earth.

When I was as one altogether helpleſs, when Tribulation and Anguiſh was upon me Day and Night, and the Earth without Foundation;

When I went on the Way of Wrath, and paſſed by the Gates of Hell;

When all Comforts ſtood afar off, and he that is mine Enemy had Dominion;

When I was caſt into the Pit, and was as one appointed to Death;

When I was between the Milſtones, and as one cruſhed with the Weight of his Adverſary;

As a Father thou wert with me, and the Rock of thy Preſence.

When the Mouth of Lions roared againſt me, and Fear took hold on my Soul in the Pit, then I called upon thee in the Night, and my Cries were ſtrong before thee daily;

Thou anſweredſt me from thy Habitation, and delivered from thy Dwelling-Place, ſaying,

I will ſet thee above all thy Fears, and lift up thy Feet above the Head of Oppreſſion.

I believed, and was ſtrengthened, and thy Word was Salvation.

Thou didſt fight on my Part when I wreſtled with Death, and when Darkneſs would have ſhut me up, then the Light ſhone about me, and thy Banner was over my Head.

When my Work was in the Furnace, and as I paſſed thro' the fiery Spirits, thy Faith ſtayed me, elſe thro' Fear I had fallen.

I ſaw thee, and believed, ſo the Enemy could not prevail.

When I look'd back into thy Work, I was aſtoniſhed, and ſaw no End of thy Praiſes:

Glory, Glory to thee, ſaith my Soul, and let my Heart be ever filled with Thankſgiving.

Whilſt thy Works remain, they ſhall ſhew forth thy Power.

Then didſt thou lay the Foundation of the Earth, and feddeſt me under the Waters, and in the Deeps didſt thou ſhew me Wonders, and the forming of the World by thy Hand.

Thou ledſt me in Safety, till thou ſhewedſt me the Pillars of the Earth;

Then did the Heavens ſhower down, they were cover'd with Darkneſs, and the Powers thereof were ſhaken, and the Glory deſcended.

Thou filledſt the lower Parts of the Earth with Gladneſs, and the Valley was opened.

Thy Showers deſcended abundantly, ſo the Earth was fill'd with Vertues.

Thou madeſt thy Plant to ſpring, and the thirſty Soul became as a watered Garden.

Then didſt thou lift me out of the Pit, and ſet me forth in the Sight of mine Enemy.

Thou proclaimeſt Liberty to the Captive, and called my Acquaintance near me, they to whom I have been a Wonder; and in thy Love I obtained Favour in thoſe who had forſaken me.

Then

Then did Gladneſs ſwallow up Sorrow, and I forſook all my Troubles.

And how good is it that Man be proved in the Night, that he may know his Safety, that every Mouth may become ſilent in thy Hand, until thou make Man known to himſelf, and have ſlain the Boaſter, and ſhewed him the Vanity that vexeth thy Soul?

The Teſtimony of James Nailer, *concerning* CHRIST JESUS, *taken out of a Book intitled* Love to the Loſt.

Concerning Chriſt Jeſus.

THIS is He, whom the World much talk of, but few there be that know Him, tho' it be He, by whom all Things were made; who is the Life of all Creatures, the Beginning of all Creatures, who was before all Creatures, without Beginning of Days or End of Life; a Prieſt for ever, and a King, of whoſe Dominion there is no End.

By Him Kings reign, and Dominions are caſt down, tho' they know Him not where Self is ſtanding, who is hidden from the World's Wiſdom, and the Depth of Prudence cannot find Him out. Yet doth He reveal Himſelf to ſuch as walk in his Light, which is contrary to all the dark Paths of the World; nor can the Will of Man walk therein: But who deny themſelves, that they may learn the Way of the Lord, to ſuch He freely reveals his Way for their Return, that He may bring them down from the Seat of Exaltation, and make known to them their Beginning, and from whence they are digged; that they may ſee Him that bears up the Pillars of the Earth, and hath laid the Foundation thereof; who hath ſet the World in

their Hearts, who ſtood not in his Counſel; ſo that they cannot find out the Beginning, nor the End of the Work of God; yet will vain Man in that State be imagining touching Him, and from whence He had his Beginning, who is the Eternal Word, before all Time, glorified in the Heavens with the Father, who in Time was manifeſt; which Word became Fleſh, and dwelt amongſt us, and took upon him the Form of a Servant, and was made in the Likeneſs of Men; and being found in Faſhion as a Man, He humbled himſelf, and became obedient to the Death, that He might become a living Example to all Generations, which no Crerture could be, the whole Creation being in the Fall; and having finiſhed the Work of Redemption given Him of the Father to do, and for which He was begotten, He aſcended far above all Heavens, to prepare a Place for all that follow Him by Faith in his Light; and that from thence, as ſuch as wait for Him, may ſee his Appearance as a Saviour; and only ſuch know Him for their Redeemer, who know Him for their Judge and Law-giver, who love Him, and keep his Commands; to ſuch He comes, and the Father alſo, and make their Abode with Him.

And this is He who is *the Light of the World, and lighteth every Man that comes into the World*; who *ſtands at the Door and knocks, and if any hear his Voice and open, He will come in, and ſup with Him*; and ſuch know Him, and He knows them who hear his Voice, by which they are quickned out of the Treſpaſſes and Sins, and the Seed of God raiſed out of Death; but where Death reigns, Chriſt is rejected, and the Wiſdom by which He ſhould be known, is Fooliſhneſs,

So, if you deſire to know Him who is not of this World, but who is before the World was, a Witneſs againſt all the World's ways and wickedneſs, then mind that Light in you which thus witneſſeth; for as Chriſt is, ſo is his Light that leads to Him;

for

for that which bears Teſtimony againſt the World, is not of the World, even as He is not of the World, and ſo leads out of the World, to Him who is not known in the World; for the World by Wiſdom knows Him not. And as thou followeſt the Light out of the World, thou wilt come to ſee the Seed which by the World's wiſdom and Glory is crucified; to which Seed are all the Promiſes, and wherein is all the Knowledge of God and Chriſt; and as that Seed is raiſed, therein is the Father revealed, and his Power and Godhead, in his Son Jeſus Chriſt, which in Him dwells, and without him is not revealed, but being known, is Life Eternal, and Eternal Power, and Eternal Glory, and Riches, made manifeſt in the Light; for as you know the Seed raiſed by the ſame Spirit, that raiſed Jeſus Chriſt from the Death; ſo ſhall you ſee Him to whom all Power and Judgment is committed in Heaven and Earth; and for whom, and by whom, all things were made in Heaven and Earth: Of whom it is ſaid, When he bringeth his only begotten Son into the World, *Let all the Angels worſhip Him; who maketh his Angels, Spirits, and his Miniſters a Flame of Fire*; whoſe Fleſh is the Life of Men, and his Light is as a Law that goeth forth, whereby Man is led to his Food, and the Sons of Men ſee out of Darkneſs; and this is He who cannot be limited, nor his Perſon reſtrained in one Place, who filleth Heaven and Earth with his Preſence, and appeareth at his Pleaſure to his own; (tho' the wiſe of the World know Him not, and therefore limit Him above the Stars) who dwelleth in the Bodies of his Saints. But as for the Reprobates, they know him not ſo, who have put the good Day far from them, and hate Reproof, that they may ſpend their Days in Folly, and feed themſelves with the Wind, and fill their Hearts with carnal Delights, when the Hearts of the Children of Light are eſtabliſhed with Grace; yet theſe will be diſ-

puting about the Body of Chriſt; but the Body of Sin rules in them, whereby they are darkned and become heart-blind, paſt feeling the Meaſure of God, whoſe Hearts are over-charged with ſurfeiting, and Cares of the World, and their Minds corrupted with Earthly Things.

To ſuch I ſay, Ceaſe your Imaginations, as to find out what Chriſt is in that State, for he alone reveals himſelf in Spirit, to ſuch as wait in the Light, and love that which is pure; to ſuch his Appearance is as the Sun, whoſe Riſing is not by the Will of Man, but for his appearing all the World muſt wait, to be refreſhed with the Beams of his Glory; and to all who are yet in the Night ſhall He appear, if you look towards the Place of his riſing, which is not, Lo here, Lo there; but within you in your Hearts; and all who are come to the *ſure Word of Prophecy, as to a Light that ſhines in a dark Place, to which you do well to take Heed, till the Day dawn, and the Day-ſtar ariſe in your Hearts*, you ſhall ſee the Son ariſe where the Day-ſtar appears in your Hearts, if in the Light you wait that ſhines in the Darkneſs: And you ſhall feel the Vertue and Life of Him, and receive thereof to live in the ſame with Him: And you ſhall ſee Him as He is, and know Him to be the Son of Righteouſneſs, whoſe ariſing is with Healing in his Wings, and whoſe Breaking forth is upon all his Enemies which over the Seed hath reigned; whoſe Spiritual Weapons are mighty thro' God to the pulling down ſtrong Holds, caſting down Imaginations, and every high Thing that exalteth it ſelf againſt the Knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Himſelf, and having in Readineſs to revenge all Diſobedience when your Obedience is fulfilled.

And thus the Saints know the Son, with his Light, his Power and Dominion over all Things in Heaven and in Earth; who rules in Righteouſneſs

in the Hearts of his People, trampling down Satan under their Feet; which Son of God, Hypocrites call *Lord, Lord*, but the Devil they ſerve and obey; and tho' ſuch have got the Words of the *Lord*, and *Chriſt*, and *Jeſus*, yet they know not his Light, his Power, his Kingdom and Dominion over Sin and the Devil in them, to ſet them free therefrom, by his Light and Life; nor his Blood to waſh them from their Pollutions, and *to preſent them without Spot, or Wrinkle, or any ſuch Thing*. And ſo you have made the Name of Chriſt a Reproach among the Nations; who call Him a Redeemer, but live in your Sins: So as ſuch as profeſs not the Syllables of *Chriſt* and *Jeſus*, even from a Principle of God within them, many of them become your Judges, as to Moderation, Faithfulneſs and Honeſty.

Nay it is manifeſt amongſt you, that the Name of *Jeſus* which gives the Saints Victory over Sin, you know not; Who have it in Words, and therewith make a Cover for your Sin, your Pride, Luſt and Exceſs. What Covetouſneſs and all Manner of Unrighteouſneſs is covered over with a Profeſſion of the Name of Chriſt, which redeems from thoſe Things ALL that know Him: For none know *Jeſus* further than they know a Saviour from Sin; and not a Cover for Sin, and live in it; for the Promiſe of the Father is, *He ſhall ſave his People from their Sins*. And the Children of the Promiſe know this to be ſo without a Cover or Meaning to live in Sin. And none know Chriſt, but who know the Anointing, and ſuch need no Man to teach them, but as the Anointing teacheth them all things that is true, if they abide therein, and there is no Lie in it.

But who ſay they know Chriſt and are redeemed, and commits Sin, not keeping his Commands, is a Liar, and ſo abides not in the Truth, and Anointing; and ſo is of the Devil, and not of Chriſt; *for he that abideth in Chriſt, ſinneth not*; for the Name

of

of Jesus Christ is Power over all Sin, as it is known, and the Creature baptized into it by Faith. So all that know Christ, know the Seed, the Promise, the Word of Life, the Covenant, the Heritage, the Righteousness, the Kingdom, the Power, the Glory which is not of this World, and the Father of all; which you that commit Sin, have not seen: Neither can any say, that *Jesus is Lord, but by the Spirit*; So you whose Knowledge is without, another Lord ruleth within.

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